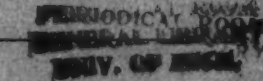


MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES



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WILLIAM KURRELMAYER
JOSE ROBLES

RAYMOND D. HAVENS
KEMP MALONE

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Advisory Editors

E. Feise, Grace Frank, J. C. French, R. Heffner, E. Malakia, R. B. Roulston, L. Spitzer

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Modern Language Notes

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MAY, 1937

Number 5

A FRAGMENT OF A DRAMA BY HERMAN GRIMM

From the estate of Charles Harvey Genung (died 1921) the Trinity College Library has acquired a parchment-bound notebook containing various items written in the hand of Herman Grimm (1828-1901), the son of Wilhelm Grimm and formerly Professor of the History of Art at Berlin. The book was purchased by Grimm and used by him for notes written during his visit to Italy during the second half of the year 1857. On the cover is the signature "Herman Grimm," together with the date "Siena. 17. Juni 1857." The following lines, written on the inside of the cover, will explain how Genung obtained possession of the book: "Dies Buch hat Herman Grimm gekauft in Siena 1857, wo er in der Gesellschaft des Prof. Hübner längere Zeit weilte. Mir geschenkt mit beiliegenden Papieren am 26 Mai 1889. (signed) Chas. H. Genung."

There can be no doubt about the fact that Genung and Grimm were closely connected by ties of friendship and admiration. This increases the probability that the manuscript under discussion is authentic. Genung studied under Grimm at Berlin and served for a time as Grimm's private secretary (see the memorial words on C. H. Genung which appeared in *The Nation*, Vol. 112, No. 2917; June 1, 1921), and thus had access to Grimm's papers. The friendship between Genung and Grimm can likewise be shown by the inscriptions written on the fly-leaves of several books now owned by the Trinity College Library, but which were formerly the property of Genung. For example, a copy of Grimm's lectures on Goethe, held at the University in Berlin (4te Auflage. Berlin, Wilhelm Hertz, 1887) has the signature "Charles H. Genung" on the fly-leaf, followed by the date "11. Feb. 1888" and the words "Berlin. Geschenk des Verfassers." A more interesting inscription is found in a copy of Grimm's *Das Leben Michelangelo's*

(*Erster Band, Fünfte Auflage. Berlin, Wm. Hertz, 1879*). This book was a gift from Grimm to Genung, and Grimm wrote on the back of the cover: "America und Deutschland sind geistig aufeinander angewiesen. Es ist ein beruhigender Gedanke für mich, einen Fortschritt in dieser Richtung zu erkennen. Ein grosser Mann, er mag noch soviel gethan haben, wird beim Abschlusse seines Lebens doch nur eine Masse von Fragmenten zu hinterlassen scheinen. Das Amt des Geschichtsschreibers ist, diese Bruchstücke als Theile einer idealen Totalität zu erkennen und glaubwürdig darzustellen. Berlin, im März 1887. (signed) Herman Grimm. Herrn Charles H. Genung zur Erinnerung an seine Berliner Studienzeit." Such statements attest the friendship that existed between Genung and Grimm, and give a considerable amount of verisimilitude to the claim that the parchment-bound notebook contains material written by Grimm which has not been published heretofore.

Until the year 1857 Grimm had been interested to a large extent in the writing of plays, although in his later life he acquired a more enduring reputation through his essays on art and his biographies of Raphael and Michelangelo. The following unpolished fragment of the second act of a drama to be known as *Rotrudis* may well mark the point at which Grimm decided to devote himself chiefly to the history of art. The museums of Rome apparently caused the author to lose interest in the drama which he had begun, for the lines entitled *Rotrudis* come to an end quite abruptly and are followed immediately in Grimm's notebook by long descriptions of his daily visits to the paintings in the Vatican and other collections in Rome. As a consequence, work on *Rotrudis* stopped altogether, and the imperfect fragment remained unfinished, although the various corrections added in pencil above the lines of the original version show that Grimm was not satisfied with the few verses which he had already written. The corrections and additions in pencil are included in the following transcription at the bottom of each page. Lines are not numbered in Grimm's notebook, and the names of the characters speaking are not indicated by the author.

Florenz am Tage S. Giovanni 1857.

ROTRUDIS

Zweiter Aufzug. Zweite Hälfte

- [Chlotar] Als ich hierherritt — auf dem Wege — als ich
 Mit meinen Hoffnungen mit meinen Träumen
 So gute Brüderschaft noch hielt —: wir glaubten
 Einander auf das Wort —: und wer mir heute
- [5] Von jener Laune ahnungsvoller Kühnheit
 Nur einen Tropfen gäbe! und ich schwamm
 In einem Meer davon! — ich war ein Kind
 Ein Narr, dass ich hierherkam. — Wie ich mich
 In's Meer warf — welch ein Abend! — wie verlockend
- [10] Die Lichter des Palastes — oben kam ich
 An in der Stadt —: dort in den hellen Fenstern
 Wohnt sie, so hört ich — ein Gewitter stand
 Am Himmel, dicht und dunkel — ich hinaus!
 Und zu den Fenstern. Dämmernd lagen sie
- [15] Vor mir hoch oben —, melancholisch schlugen
 Die Wogen an die Mauern da; ich sah
 Einen Schatten, hier und da das Licht verdunkelnd
 Ich dachte, ob sie's wäre — dass sie oben
 Vereinsamt auf und niederginge, dass sie
- [20] An mich gedacht — sehnstüchtig — ja beim Himmel

Lines 11 to 20: The author has made a vertical stroke in pencil through these lines to indicate that he did not consider them satisfactory.

The following verses were written on a separate sheet of paper which was folded and kept in the notebook:

und ging im ersten Rausche
 Des Glücks zu weilen wo Rotrudis weilte
 Durch all die [illegible] wie verlockend
 Die Lichter des Palastes und im Meere
 Der Widerschein, ich fragte wer da wohnte
 Rotrudis' Namen hört' ich, mich durchflog
 Ein Sturm von Sehnsucht. Dort die hellen Fenster
 Da wohnt sie. Ein Gewitter stand am Himmel
 Kein Schiffer wollte mehr hinaus, ich warf mich
 Hinein ins dunkle Element und näher
 Kam ich dem Lichte, höher wuchsen vor mir
 Die dunkeln Thürme und die Wellen schlugen
 An das Gemäuer. Da sah ich empor
 Es war ganz still, ein Schatten schnitt zuweilen
 Das Licht ab — war sie's die da oben einsam
 Im Saale hin und herging — dachte sie
 An ihre Heimath, dachte sie an mich?
 So träumte meine Sehnsucht — aber heute.

- Es war mein Glaube damals. — Aber heute
Ist ers nicht mehr — sie liebt Valerian!
Und dass *ich* komme sie von ihm zu fordern
Macht doppelt mich verhasst — sie liebt den Prinzen
[25] Und ich kam, sie zu trennen — und ich dachte
Sie könnte *mir* gehören! Sie zu sehn
Mit ihr zu reden — fruchtlos — sie vermeidets
Als wär ich Gift — sie weiss auch nichts
Und dennoch ists als ahnte sies und zwänge mich
[30] Ihr zu verschweigen was mich nach Byzanz führt.
Sie muss es hören, neben ihr muss ich
Denselben Weg zurück — ich wär im Stande
Im goldenen Netze das die Kaisrin ausspannt
Mit offenen Augen mich zu fangen — nur
[35] Damit ein Ende wäre — —
- [Irene] Wieder stehst du so
In traurigen Gedanken
- [Chlotar] Hohe Herrin
Den traurigen Gedanken müsst ich danken
Weil sie dich locken, dein scharfsichtig Auge
Auf mich zu lenken.
- [Irene] Oft wenn du versunken
- [40] In dich allein, von Allem abgezogen
Starr vor dich hinsiehst, wie ichs oft bemerke
Was denkst du dann?
- [Chlotar] Warum die Frage Kaisrin?
Ich möchte wissen ob in meinen Händen
Die Macht sei diesen Trübsinn zu bestreiten
- [45] Du schweigst? Lässt dich das Leben in Byzanz
Die Heimath schmerzlich missen? Hat dein Blick
etc. [!]
- [Irene] Und was die Welt sagt wollen wir erwarten
Selbst, was sie thut — jetzt lass ich dich allein —
[Irene ab]
- [Chlotar] Soweit geführt? o Zaubrin! Und ich hier
- [50] Mit einem Purpurmantel um die Gliedern [!]
Mit goldnen Schuhn mit Sklaven die den Boden
Bei meinem Anblick küssen und ich selber
Der Oberste von allen diesen Schurken
Der erste Ihrer Sklaven — o ich würde
- [55] Sie fühlen lassen dass ein Franke nicht
So seine Freiheit hingiebt — still, das denk' ich?

28: sie weiss nicht was ich bringe; sie weiss nicht was ich will; kein Mensch weiss was mich herführt. 29: Ist es als wüsste sie's.

46: Chlotars speech is not completed.

- Mit ihr? die ihrem Sohn das Reich gestohlen
 Mit ihr die seinen Vater ihm zuvor
 Vergiftete — . Und Rotrudis der ich
- [60] Freund bin auf ewig dann — [*Rotrudis erscheint*] dort!
 — ist sies wirklich
- Langsam — so schritt sie ehemals nicht, sie schreitet
 Als zögen die Gewänder sie zu Boden
 O Liebste hat der Athem von Byzanz
 Die Wangen so dir angehaucht — Rotrudis!
- [65] Hörst du mich nicht? siehst du mich nicht? bin ich
 Nicht hier für dich?
- [*Rotrudis*] Für mich?
 [*Chlotar*] Für dich Rotrudis
- Weist du denn dass ich hier bin — oder nicht?
 Weist du warum ich kam? Du fragst mich nicht.
 Du willst's nicht kennen. — wieder dieses Lächeln
- [70] Das mir so fremd ist — o Rotrudis lass mich
 Jetzt nicht dir nachsehn sprachlos — red' ich jetzt nicht
 So red ich niemals.
- [*Rotrudis*] Wenn du reden wolltest
 Hab ich dich jemals nicht gehört?
- [*Chlotar*] o hast du
- Nicht tausendmal rückwärts gedrängt die Worte
- [75] Die mir das Herz zersprengten — und
 Ich rede vom Vergangnen nicht hier wieder — ich habe
 Dir Wicht'ges mitzuthellen und du machst mirs
 Unmöglich.
- [*Rotrudis*] Sein wir offen zu einander
- Chlotar jetzt will ich sprechen. Man erzählt mir
- [80] Irene wolle dich zum Gatten wählen.
 Ich weiss nicht was dich herführt nach Byzanz
 Ich kenne deine Pläne nicht. Wir waren
 Befreundet als wir Kinder waren: — jetzt
 Wenn *das* geschieht, was man mir sagt, bist du
- [85] Mein Feind —
- [*Chlotar*] Rotrudis.
 [*Rotrudis*] Noch zwei Worte lass mich
- Aussprechen. *Wirst du Kaiser* so verschwindet
 Dem Prinzen, dem *ich* mich vermählen werde,
 Die Hoffnung auf den Thron. *Du* wirst nicht Kaiser
 Um thatenlos zu ruhn, wir aber lassen
- [90] Uns nicht berauben und Valerian
 Muss dich bekämpfen oder unterliegen.
 Und wo er steht steh ich und wo er fällt
 Fall ich mit ihm.

61: so ging sie nicht ehemals. 64: dir so blass gemacht.

- [Chlotar] Rotrudis — eine Frage
 Eh du dich von mir wendest, eine Frage
 [95] Beim Himmel wenn ich verschweigen könnte
 Ich thät es, doch es sei gewagt
 Ich schweige, doch sie sei gethan, es hängt
 Tod dran und Leben. Gieb mir Antwort
 Als hörtest du in tiefer Einsamkeit
 [100] Die Worte aus dir selber und gäbe
 Da kein Entrinnen vor der Wahrheit weiter.
 Liebst du Valerian?
- [Rotrudis] Was macht dich kühn
 Das mich zu fragen? — — da er mein Gemahl wird!
 Noch trägst *du* unsere Krone nicht! Noch bin *ich*
 [105] Die Tochter deines Kaisers und du sein
 Vasall mit dem ich rede!
- [Chlotar] Ja das bin ich
 Und deines Vaters Tochter du, wohlan
 Valerians Gemahlin wirst du nicht!
- [Rotrudis] Nicht? !
- [Chlotar] Nicht! dein Vater sendet mich hierher
 [110] Was ich nun sage sagt der Kaiser der mich
 Zu dir mit seinem Willen schickt, du kehrest
 Zurück und mir ertheilt er den Befehl
 Dir das Geleit zu geben.
- [Rotrudis] Du! mit dir
 Mit dir zurück! Weh mir mit dir zurück
 [115] In all das Elend wieder o ihr Heilgen
 Warum befahl er nicht mich hier zu tödten
 Chlotar, zieh doch den Dolch von deiner Seite
 Und stoss ihn mir in's Herz. Warum stehst du
 Da und es lastet deine Gegenwart
 [120] Auf mir als hing an einem Seidenfaden
 Ein Felsen über mir. Warum kamst du —
 Warum? um mich zu quälen — o ist nirgends
 Auf Erden ein Versteck in das ich flüchte.
 (ruhiger, ironisch majestätisch zu sich selbst)
 Doch du bleibst hier, *sie* hält dich fest — sie weiss
 [125] Zu fesseln! — (fast glücklich) und *ich* fort! ich von
 euch beiden
 Getrennt! Glückliche Bothschaft, ich, dich hier
 Im griechischen Purpur *nicht* vor meinen Augen

97: Gieb mir Antwort, denn es hängt. 96-101: These lines crossed out with pencil.

109: der Kaiser sendet 115: In dieses Elend 117: das Schwert von
 118: stoss es 120: an einem schwachen Faden

126: ich, Chlotar 131: Irene mir vermählt? — Glaubst du, Rotrudis

- Dank dir! Befreiung, Glück, o Wonne, wieder
In's Vaterland — und mir im Rücken weit
- [130] [Chlotar] Endlich für immer dann, was meine Qual war.
Irene mich in Fesseln? — Glaubst du, Fürstin
Verlockend wäre *mir* der griechische Purpur?
Mir ist ers nie gewesen. — doch du glaubst
Er müsse jeden wie dich einst bezaubern
- [135] Hierhergeloct meinst du ein jeder müsste
Wie du von ihm bezaubert sein.
- [Rotrudis] Wie ich?
- [Chlotar] Hast du mit freiem Willen nicht gewählt?
- [Rotrudis] Mit freiem Willen?
- [Chlotar] Ja du standest vor mir
Noch hab ich's vor den Augen, niemals werd ich's
- [140] Vergessen wie du damals vor mir standest
Und auf die Frage die dein Vater stellte
Die Antwort gabst wie dir dein Herz gerathen.
- [Rotrudis] Mein Herz?
- [Chlotar] Dein Herz allein, denn frei zu wählen
Erlaubt er dir und du mit beiden Händen
- [145] Griffst nach dem glänzenden Juwel verliessest
* * * *
- [Chlotar] Und so mit ausgespannten Flügeln schwebt ich
Dir nach, beglückt — bethört, denn du allmählig
Nahmst einen Stolz an, eine Kälte, die mir
Erst leise dann vernehmlich wiederholten
- [150] Was ich von Grund aus nun erfahren habe.
Du wehrtest mich nicht ab — du hieltest gar nicht
Für möglich — frei wie immer und vertraulich
Verwehrtest du mir nicht um dich zu weilen
Doch wenn ein Wort die Grenze nur berührte
- [155] Da schreckte mich ein Blick ab — wie die Blicke
Als ich dich eben das zu fragen kühn war
Was dich so zornig machte.
* * * *
- [Chlotar] Und doch zum drittenmal
Fasst ich mich nun, ich wollte reden, fühlte
- [160] Das Wort auf meinen Lippen zittern, — plötzlich
Tratest du zurück — ich wagt' es dich zu halten
Ganz schüchtern, als du die Hand losreisend

137: Gingst du aus freiem Willen nicht hieher? 138: Aus freiem Willen? Ja aus freier Wahl

145-146: Two pages of manuscript between these lines have been destroyed, possibly by Grimm, since lines 146-157 could easily be a continuation of the preceding speech. 151: Du wiesest 152: Für denkbar 157-158: Another lacuna occurs here. Perhaps lines 158 ff. are an emendation of some speech which has been destroyed.

Gingst zu den Andern die am Feuer sassen.
Du sprachst, ich sprach, gleichgültig dass etc. [1]

[Chlotar] [165] In dumpfem Druck — nun hab ich dich gefunden
Für ewige Zeiten — du bist mein.

[Rotrudis] O lass mich

Fortreden, da ich so unendlich lange
In meiner Seele mit dir sprach, entzückts mich
Zu sehn wie du mich anhörst — o Chlotar

[170] Als ich hierherging, glaubst du mich verlockte
Byzanz? Am Abend da du Abschied nahmst
Ach hörtest du mein Herz nicht schlagen damals?
Wie oft seitdem sah ich den Mond und dachte
An jene Nacht, mich nach dem Tode sehnend

[175] Weil ich mich ja zu dir nicht sehnen durfte.
Nun kamst du und mit dir in einem Athem
Flog das Gerücht durch den Palast du würdest
Gemahl der Kaisrin — als ich euch erblickte
Es war ein Donnerschlag für mich — ich sah

[180] Dich an, dann sie, dich wieder und eiskalt
Und dennoch brennend fühlte was ich vordem einst
Ertragen, was mir unerträglich dünkte,
Schien mir ein verlornes Paradies, die Stunden
In denen ich die Grenze der Betrübniß

[185] Berührt zu haben glaubte — ach du kamest [Irene
erscheint]

[Chlotar] Sie darf uns hier nicht finden

[Rotrudis] Nein sie darf es nicht

[Chlotar] Wann seh ich dich Geliebte?

[Rotrudis] Wenn du willst

[Chlotar] Ich schleiche zu dir heute abend — darf ich
Wir haben uns soviel zu sagen

164-165: Several pages of the notebook at this point are left blank. The same scene between *Chlotar* and *Rotrudis* is continued, however, in line 165. 170: du glaubst 174: An jenen Abend 178: Trauen d 183: Schien jetzt.

185-187: On a loose sheet of paper, on the back of which are found still other verses (see note to lines 11-20), Grimm wrote the following:

[Rot.] O die Kaiserin

Ist schön.

[Chl.] Dort kommt sie.

[Rot.] Siehst du wie sie schön ist
Lebwohl sie soll uns hier nicht finden.

[Chl.] Nein

Wann sehen wir uns wieder?

[Rot.] Wenn du willst

186: (Still Irene) at beginning of line, deleted by author.

- [Rotrudis] Ja.
- [190] Komm wenn du willst.
- [Chlotar] Lebwohl. — o deine Hände
Sind kalt und zittern
- [Rotrudis] Wenn ich dich nicht liebte
Ich zitterte dann nicht.
- [Chlotar] Lebwohl.
- [Rotrudis] Chlotar
Wenn du zur Kaisrin jetzt — sie ist so schön
Ich läugne es nicht wenn — sie dir schön erscheint
- [195] Denk nicht du müsstest nun, weil du mich liebst
Sie traurig bewundern — Ist sie besser
Als ich — liebst du sie, gieb mich auf.
- [Chlotar] (umarmt sie) Rotrudis
- * * * * *
- [Rotrudis] Als sollt ich sagen "lass uns warten?" Nein
Wir dürfen so nicht reisen. Geh zur Kaisrin
- [200] Und sag ihr was sie wissen soll.
- [Chlotar] Sie hat mich
Gerettet aus Gefahr, mich fürstlich dann
Beschenkt und unterhalten ihre Hand
Mir angeboten, und verlangt ich sollte
Mich erst bedenken eh ich Antwort gäbe.
- [205] Durft' ich ihr sagen was mich von ihr trennte?
Geh zu ihr. Du bist gut. Ich bin es nicht.
Verzeih mir meine thörichten Gedanken
Von denen du nichts weisst — die mich so quälen
Und an mein Glück nicht glauben weil's zu gross ist
- [210] Chlotar du zürnst mir nicht, wenn ich nicht weiss
Wie man sich anders giebt als man empfindet
Ich darf dich nicht belügen. Geh zur Kaisrin
Du liebst mich! (Chlotar ab.) O er liebt mich! —
[Valerian tritt auf] Valerian! — ?
- [Valerian] Bis heute kanntest du den fränk'schen Grafen
- [215] So gut wie nicht. Und nun steht ihr zusammen
Als hättet ihr euch längst gekannt, Rotrudis?
Wir kennen uns seitdem wir Kinder waren.
- [Rotrudis]
- [Valerian] Du und der Graf
- [Rotrudis] Ich und Chlotar
- [Valerian] Wie sprichst du
Wie blickst du — wie so strahlend
- [Rotrudis] Valerian
- [220] Ich gehe fort von hier.
- [Valerian] Du gehst? von hier?

197-198: Three pages of the notebook have been cut out carefully at this point. The context is made clear, however, by the preceding lines.

- Du fort? du mir entrissen? soll das heissen . . . ?
 Nein! nein es ist unmöglich — ist nichts mehr
 Auf Erden fest und heilig, deine Worte
 Rotrudis nicht, nicht die Verträge die uns
- [225] Vermählen?
 [Rotrudis] Sie sind aufgelöst
 [Valerian] Gelöst?
 Und ich das Opfer dieses höllischen Verrathes
 Weiss nichts davon? Und ich soll dich verlieren?
 Und soll zu gleicher Zeit ein fremder Dieb
 Das Reich mir stehlen und hinausgestossen
- [230] Hab' ich nichts mehr als die Erinnerung einzig
 All der Verbrechen die an mir geschehn sind.
 [Rotrudis] Valerian, Chlotar rührt deine Krone
 Nicht an. Er geht mit mir?
 [Valerian] Er geht mit dir?
 [Rotrudis] Mein Vater schickt ihn mich zurückzufordern
 [235] Und in mein Vaterland zu führen.
 [Valerian] Er?
 Stehn so die Dinge plötzlich? Er mit dir?
 Es ist 'ne Lüge dass er bleibt? Es wäre
 Eine Lüge was sich jedermann erzählt
 Eine Lüge, was *ich* sehe, wie sie alle
- [240] Sich vor ihm beugen? seine künftige Grösse
 Auswitternd schon den Saum des Mantels ihm
 Mit Ehrfurcht küssen in Gedanken — den er
 Bald tragen wird — Nein du bleibst hier — wir beide
 Betrogen stehn in ehrerbietgem Schweigen
- [245] Wie die geringsten Sklaven und es haschen
 Wie sie ein gnädig Lächeln.
 [Rotrudis] Meine Hand
 Niemals wird das geschehn. Nie wird Chlotar
 Gemahl der Kaisrin wenn sies alle sagen
 Sie lügen alle.

221: Du fort? fort aus Byzanz, soll das bedeuten . . . ?; Du wolltest mich verlassen? soll das heissen . . . ? 226: das Opfer der höllischen Verrätherei

234-239: The following lines were written on a folded sheet of letter paper contained in the notebook:

- [Rot.] Mein Vater schickt ihn mich zurückzufordern
 Und in die Heimath wieder zu geleiten
 [Val.] Stehn so die Dinge plötzlich? und es ist
 'Ne Lüge was sich jedermann erzählt
 'Ne Lüge wenn ich sehe wie sie alle etc.

On the back of this sheet Grimm wrote in pencil: "I send through the prussian closed mail to Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson at Concord."

- [Valerian] Weisst du das gewiss?
- [250] Du weisst's wohl weil *er's* sagte — Sahst *du* sie
Zusammen beide — sahst Irenens Augen
Wollüstig auf ihm ruhn wie auf dem Meere
Die Sonne ruht und voll in sich zurückstrahlt?
Und um sie her die niederen Gestirne
- [255] Nachwandelnd ihre Bahn — *ihn* zwischen denen
Als überblickt er ruhig, längstgewohnt
Sein Eigenthum?
- [Rotrudis] [*vor sich hin*] (O, vor den Augen hab' ichs
Mit glühnden Farben)
- [Valerian] Hast du das nicht gesehn?
Wohlan *ich* seh's mit an?
- [Rotrudis] [*vor sich hin*] (Nein, nein ich darf
- [260] Nicht länger hören was Chlotar beleidigt.) [Rotrudis
ab]
- [Valerian] Sie ginge in ihr Vaterland erzählt sie?
Gelöst sei der Vertrag? Chlotar? — — was gab ihr
Die Sicherheit, die Kälte? — und sie sprachen
Hier miteinander, kennen sich sagt sie
- [265] Von Jugend auf — Er hat ihr das gesagt
Er käme sie holen und er ginge
Mit ihr zurück — es steigt mir eine Ahnung
Von Trug und Lüge auf — wagt dieser Schurke
Den Thron mir zu entreissen und zugleich
- [270] Rotrudis? Dunkel schlingen sich die Wege
Noch durcheinander und ich will nicht sagen

ARTHUR H. HUGHES

Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

261-271: Although the manuscript of *Rotrudis* comes to an abrupt end with line 271, the following lines, written in a blank space on one of the preceding pages, are evidently meant as a correction or continuation of the last speech by Valerian:

Sie geht. Gelöst die Bande — der Vertrag
O was braucht *ich's* zu wissen — und sie kennt ihn
Von Jugend auf — Zuerst gar nicht, zuerst
Hatt' sie ihn an gesehn und nun dies Glück
Und diese Sicherheit und diese Kälte
Mit der sie sagt er ginge mit ihr fort
Es [*wär'*] nichts zwischen ihm und meiner Mutter
Teufel — wie stinkt die Lüge! will er beide
Besitzen, sie verführen? welche aber
Von ihnen? und zu welchem Endzweck thut er's?
O und Rotrudis macht sich von mir los
Streift mich leicht ab als hätt ich ein Recht
Gehabt auf sie und ich, ich stehe hier etc. [!]

THE FACTOR OF GENERATION IN GERMAN LITERARY HISTORY

All theory aside and for the practical purposes of this article we may define a generation as an age group, a group of artists who were born about the same time, grew into a similar environment, met each phase of literary and cultural change at the same stage in life development, were confronted with the same problems, consequently acquired a similar vital sensitiveness, and produced works which have a common character recognizable in spite of all differences in quality, manner, background, and individuality.

There are always three or more age groups literarily active at any given time, their life spans overlap in part, certain events and experiences come to all of them. Yet each age group will be affected differently because it will face any given event at a different stage in its development and will therefore assimilate it differently. Any group of years represents the completion of one age group's life work, the height of another's mature power, the rising recognition of a third, and perhaps the early attempts of a fourth. Any chronological *date* will mean three or four different *times*, in spite of a certain positive or negative accommodation of all groups to the reigning outward fashions and tendencies.

With this in mind let us now review two fairly extensive generational series in German literature; first one from older literature around 1200 (despite some lack of accurate data) and then one from more modern literature around the year 1800, so that we can see how this method of arrangement works in different eras and under different circumstances.

The main problem of the literary age groups around the year 1200 was the creation of a secular chivalric literature. The special problem of the precursor generations, in the lyric and in the epic, was twofold: 1. the importation of new materials and forms from Romance countries, 2. the reworking of the indigenous material to conform to the new style and conventions. This was accomplished, it would seem, by three age groups, from (1) the more or less indigenous minstrel epic and the indigenous knightly lyric (Kürenberger), through (2) the Romance epic (Heinrich von Veldeke, Eilhard von Oberge) and the transition lyric (Dietmar von Eist), to (3) the first synthesis of old and new, German and

Romance, in the so-called folk epic (*Nibelungenlied*) and in the lyric (Reinmar von Hagenau, Heinrich von Morungen). This last precursor generation, at its height in the 1180's and 90's, extends into the thirteenth century, ending when the next, the classical generation, was at its height and the first post-classical was just beginning.

The classical generation made use of the newly acquired forms and materials with ease, distinction, and originality, no longer uncertain in technique or timidly imitative. Four poets, all born around 1170, are outstanding: Hartmann von Aue, Walther von der Vogelweide, Wolfram von Eschenbach, and Gottfried von Strassburg, named in the order of their appearance on the literary scene (c. 1190-1210). They solved their common problem, the creation of a high chivalric German literature, with a different stress on the two elements, chivalric and German. Hartmann and Gottfried, formalists both, stressed the chivalric, the perfect expression of the ideals of knighthood and *Minne*. Walther and Wolfram, knights and masters of form though they were, stressed the German, the vital content, in the synthesis they achieved.

Down from this height and into other regions led three courses: 1. imitation and revival, 2. exaggeration, perversion, and shifted emphasis (making peripheral and minor tendencies central), and 3. revolt from old toward new ideals (here religious and bourgeois). These three courses fluctuated in dominance for the age groups to follow; there was no straightforward progress or succession.

The first post-classical generation, born in the 1180's and 90's illustrates this well. Neidhart von Reuenthal changed *niedere Minne* from a diversion to a program. Thomasin von Zircläre and Freidank found it necessary to codify the rules of fine chivalric society, since the living example of it was disappearing. Old Wernher der Gärtner, pessimist, reactionary, realist, delineates unforgettably this chivalric decline and vulgarization. Der Stricker, of lighter weight, could first imitate chivalric romance and then forecast new trends in his *Pfaffe Amis* and other works.

The next generation, born around 1200, was largely imitative, epigonic. Tannhäuser, the self-indulgent nobleman, took advantage of both his old station and the new circumstances. Reinmar von Zweter was a rather timid imitator of the *Spruchdichter* Walther. Rudolf von Ems fluctuated between worldly romance and religious legend, as Hartmann had done. Ulrich von Lichtenstein,

like Don Quixote, tried single-handed to revive the ideals of chivalry in life as well as in poetry.

The third post-classical generation, born around 1210, was by contrast anti-chivalric. The preaching friar, Berthold von Regensburg, used the new expressiveness of the German language to combat its creators: chivalric society. The mystic, Mechtild von Magdeburg similarly turned the poetic symbolism of the Minnesong heavenward.

The fourth, born around 1230, was epigonic and also synthetic, in combining what remained vital of chivalry with the new bourgeois and religious ideals. The burgher Konrad von Würzburg in his diverse and many-sided activity was typical for this generation. Albrecht von Scharfenberg exaggerated Wolfram's manner into mannerism, and old Hugo von Trimberg became an indiscriminate anthologist of the past.

Then came another religious, mystical generation, then an essentially burgher generation, then the great mystical generation about Meister Eckhart, and so on in successive waves with burgher and cleric becoming more and more prominent.

The second generational series around 1800 started out as the first had; the predecessor generations were confronted with the problem of fructifying German literature with new forms and materials, this time brought over from Antiquity, from England, from the Romance countries, and from Germany's own past.

The first preparatory generation born around 1700 indicated that the English and old German tendencies would triumph over the Romance in the new classical literature (Bodmer and Breitinger *versus* Gottsched). The second generation born around 1715 may be divided between the formalists and refiners of the German language (Hagedorn, Haller, Gellert, Gleim, Uz) and the thinkers and critics (Winckelmann and Möser) whose ideas were to give direction to the coming classical literature. The third born around 1730 developed fine critical and technical means and also created significant and lasting literary works of its own, formal models for the succeeding generations: Klopstock in poetry, Lessing in drama, criticism, and aesthetics; Wieland in the novel, in those lighter, graceful forms which counterbalanced the almost ponderous profundity of his generation, Kant in no form, but in thought, in the new ethics, and Hamann in his amazingly keen new vital sensitivity.

The next, the first classical generation, born around 1745, came on the literary scene as a youth movement, with a large number of representatives, many of whom lost all creative impulse after the great youthful upsurge of the *Sturm und Drang*. Those who survived developed their style and attitude rather considerably and entered upon their mature phase, which was generally classicistic. A very few, of importance only Goethe, in their old age passed through a third phase which resembled Romanticism but is distinguishable from it. These age phases, which complicate the generational picture, are present in every age group, but are especially apparent here. Among the important members of this first classical generation are: Fritz Jacobi, Herder, and Heinse, H. L. Wagner, Bürger, Mahler Müller, and Goethe, Lenz, Voss, and Klinger.

The second classical generation born around 1760 is much smaller in numbers, and very different in literary purpose and expression. It includes Schiller, Fichte, and Jean Paul, who in their different ways were deeply involved in thought and expression in the stirring events of their time; the same age group in France furnished the leaders of the Revolution. These writers are idealistic, didactic, ethical, metaphysical, revolutionary; in one instance the turmoil, the chaos of the time was modified into humor. They are in decided contrast to the individualistic, lyric, natural generation which preceded them.

Following these two classical generations, one lyrical, the other metaphysical, there are two equally different Romantic generations in reverse order, the first more intellectual and philosophical, the second more lyric and creative. The first group born around 1770 includes the Schlegel brothers and their wives, Schleiermacher, Hölderlin, and Hegel, Novalis, Tieck, and Wackenroder. Many in this age group passed through classicism as a youthful phase, and then a few years before the turn of the century quickly changed to Romanticism, at a time when Goethe and Schiller were at the height of their classicistic phase.

The second Romantic generation, born around 1780, no longer theorized about Romanticism, but took it for granted and preceded creatively rather than critically. It was far more indigenous, earth bound, German. It includes Schelling, Görres, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Kleist, Brentano, Arnim, Bettina, the brothers Grimm, Uhland, Eichendorff.

The men of the next generation born around 1795 reacted against Romanticism in two different ways: 1. some like Grillparzer, Eckermann, W. Müller, Platen harked back to the classicistic tendencies of the Goethe or Schiller generation, 2. others pointed ahead to *Junges Deutschland* and to realism with their modernizing or their regional tendencies; among these are Heine and Grabbe, and the regionalists Immermann, Droste-Hülshoff, Jeremias Gotthelf, and Willibald Alexis.

The following may be called the last Romantic generation; its members were born around 1803 and were of a highly refined, detailed, miniaturistic expression, a Romanticism which is often a luminous realism. Representatives are Lenau, Mörike, and Stifter.

Then about 1815 came a dramatic, revolutionary generation, very sensitive to the "Zeitgeist," expressing this either in direct political writing and activity or sublimating it in creations of ideological drama or of realistic regional novel. It is again large in numbers and in importance; there are Freiligrath and Gutzkow, four of the great German dramatists of the 19th century all born in 1813: Ludwig, Hebbel, Wagner, and Büchner, the novelists Reuter, Freytag, Storm, Keller, Fontane, and the historians and political theorists Mommsen, Burkhardt, and Marx.

Then comes an idealistic, anti-realistic, "Romanticoid" generation born around 1830 including C. F. Meyer, Scheffel, Spielhagen, Heyse, Dahn, Ebers, the humorists Raabe and Busch, and critics and historians like Dilthey and Treitschke, who were German and nationalistic in contrast to the internationalists of the previous generation.—And so it goes on through the following Impressionistic generation (Liliencron, Nietzsche, Spitteler) to the generations which extend to the present time.

There are a number of interesting parallels and contrasts to be observed in these two generational series. There is a similar course of development toward a high point in German literature, and a similar wave-like course of development away from the ideals and standards of the classical generation and toward something else. In both cases the high point is not realism, but a kind of idealism which is *later* followed by a contrasting realism. There are in both series the several pioneer generations, the last of which already creates works of classical stature, there are the one or two classical generations, and the declining series of rebels, imitators, innovators, and modifiers.

What, in conclusion are the chief contributions to literary history of the generational method of arrangement? 1. There is first and foremost the vivid picture it offers of the real movement of literary history: that its speed is quite as rapid and radical in old literature as in new, despite popular assumption to the contrary; that its manner is complex and fluctuating; that the conventional methods of presentation, which take up, say, the whole chivalric movement first in epic then in lyric, then take up the whole religious movement, then the realistic or bourgeois movement, are quite artificial.

2. There is in the concept of generation an intermediary unit between the all too small historical unit of the individual and the all too large and complex historical unit of the epoch. On the one hand the individual is brought into natural relation to other individuals of similar life span and vital sensitiveness, and on the other hand the structural make-up of the epoch is clearly revealed.

3. Thus it is evident that the generational method should not interfere with the consideration of a poet's individuality, but should rather aid in it, since it will distinguish between those characteristics which belong to his generation as a whole and those which are truly his own, even as it will also show clearly how the different individualities react to the same set of temporal circumstances.

4. The method will also group the writers sensibly; it will relegate to its proper place the popular make-shift method of arrangement according to literary genre, which tends to wrench apart all natural relations between contemporaries. Genre is a non-historical literary factor, and should be treated as such in literary history.

5. Current literary categories will also be subjected to critical examination. For instance, *Sturm und Drang*, *Klassik*, *Romantik* are clearly not equivalent terms; the first is the youthful phase of expression of one age group, the second is the mature phase of expression of two different age groups, the third is a far broader term than either, since it includes the life expression of at least two generations and even refers to a literary tendency to be found in other generations. Over against such an incommensurate series of categories we have in the generations a completely equivalent series which will not replace the conventional categories but will help interpret them correctly.

6. The generational method used with discrimination will also furnish us with a surer and more usable means of literary comparison and contrast, whether this contrast be between different epochs of the same literature, between different arts of the same epoch, or between different national literatures of the same epoch.

The undesirable or dangerous features about the generational arrangement of literary history lie in its exclusive, unmodified application in the hands of an extremist. A poet can never be characterized merely by relegating him to an age group, nor can a history of literature be written exclusively in terms of generation. Generation is after all only *one* of the important factors entering into the structure of literary history, and its exclusive use would be just as reprehensible as is the omission of it in most histories of literature. Generation is a convenient and consistent *temporal* unit of arrangement, even as region (*Stamm und Landschaft*) is a convenient *constant* unit of arrangement, and a history of literature which should use these two with the proper discretion as structural elements, would have that "Darstellungsnotwendigkeit" which Nadler demanded theoretically, but only half carried out in practice.

HAROLD S. JANTZ

Clark University

DER BRUCH IN KLEISTS *PENTHESILEA*

Unter den zahlreichen Deutungsversuchen von Kleists *Penthesilea* lassen sich zwei Grundrichtungen unterscheiden.¹ Auf der einen Seite finden wir den Versuch, das Drama als eine reine Tragödie der Leidenschaft zu erklären. "In Kleists *Penthesilea* zum ersten Male schweigt die Vernunft, waltet garkein Kampf zwischen Gesetz und Leidenschaft, sondern die Leidenschaft, und zwar die noch unvergeistigte triebhafte, vernichtet sich selbst, nicht durch Gericht einer sie überwaltenden Vernunft," sagt Gundolf,² und ihm folgt Blankenagel, wenn er ausführt: "Neither Penthesilea nor Achilles wages a conflict between the dictates of reason and the white heat

¹ Eine andersartige, in diesem Zusammenhang aber nicht verwendbare Einteilung nimmt Wolfg. Einsiedel vor (*Die dramatische Charaktergestaltung bei Kleist*, S. 53).

² *Heinrich von Kleist*, S. 101.

of desire. They are devoid of rational faculties, incapable of deliberation, reflection or even choice. Impetuously and blindly they follow their instinctive bent."³ "Der Liebeskampf, der zur Raserei ausartet," ist nach Karl Federn⁴ Inhalt des Dramas, und ähnliche Ansichten äussern auch alle diejenigen, die Kleist von einem mehr poetischen⁵ als literarischen Standpunkt aus zu erfassen suchen.⁶ Das Gegenteil wird von dem anderen Grundtypus der Interpretationen *Penthesileas* behauptet: nicht die Leidenschaft allein, sondern der Kampf zwischen Gesetz und den natürlichen Gefühlen des Individuums sei es, der den Gehalt des Werkes bilde. Dabei lassen sich drei Untergruppen scheiden: Die einen sehen im Tode Penthesileas die Bestrafung ihrer Leidenschaften, die sich gegen das Gesetz gewendet haben, erklären also das Individuum für schuldig, sodass sein Tod als der Sieg des Gesetzes erscheint,⁷ die Anhänger der zweiten Gruppe behaupten gerade das Gegenteil, dass hier nämlich ein unschuldiges Individuum an einem sinnlosen Gesetz zugrunde gegangen sei, dass am Ende somit das Gesetz, nicht der Mensch gerichtet sei,⁸ und schliesslich ist noch der dritte Versuch gemacht worden, das Drama als den Kampf zwischen zwei gleichberechtigten Faktoren aufzufassen,⁹ in dem das Gesetz objektiv durch den Tod Penthesileas

³ *The Dramas of Heinrich von Kleist*, S. 131.

⁴ *Das Leben Heinrich von Kleists*, S. 193.

⁵ So Stephan Zweig: *Kampf mit dem Dämon*, S. 191; Arnold Zweig: *Lessing, Kleist, Büchner*, S. 120.

⁶ Andere Vertreter dieser Ansicht sind: Witkop: *Kleist*, S. 123 ff., insbes. 134; Unger, Rudolf: *Herder, Novalis, Kleist*, S. 132 f.; Julius Bab: *Kleist*, S. 34 ff., insbes. 38; A. Eloesser: *Deutsche Litt.* II, S. 64. Auch Herzog (*Kleist*, S. 380 ff.) gehört wohl hierher, wie überhaupt die meisten Autoren zu dieser Ansicht neigen.

⁷ So Roger Ayrault: *Heinrich v. Kleist*, S. 359; Maximilian Harden in: *Die Zukunft* 18. Jahrgg., S. 354; Franz Servaes: *H. v. Kleist*, S. 91, der Sühnung durch Selbstvernichtung in Penthesileas Schicksal erblickt, und Collin (*Das Tragische in Kleists Leben und Kunst*, S. 781 ff.), der von der "Tragödie überstiegener, verblendeter Selbstherrlichkeit" spricht.

⁸ So wohl Braig (*Kleist* S. 221), wenn er sagt: "Und so sah Kleist das grosse tragische Problem in der Wiedergewinnung der verlorenen metaphysischen Freiheit der Frauen, der Menschheit in ihnen." Eindeutiger Helene Stöcker in: *Die Liebe und die Frau*, 2. Aufl. S. 169 f.

⁹ Meyer-Benfey, *Kleist*, II, S. 356 ff. (Kampf zwischen Amazonin und liebendem Weibe), Walter Silz; *Kleists Conception of the Tragic*, S. 38 ff., allerdings zuweilen mit der Idee, Penthesilea für schuldig zu erklären.

siegt, subjektiv aber von ihr überwunden wird, weil sie nicht um des Gesetzes, sondern um ihrer Liebe willen stirbt.¹⁰

Es lässt sich leicht erkennen, warum diese Auslegungen nicht befriedigen können. Die erste Gruppe, die es allein auf die sich selbst vernichtende Leidenschaft abstellt, geht an der Tatsache vorbei, dass die ersten 20 Auftritte allein der Auseinandersetzung zwischen Individuum und Gesetz gewidmet sind und man nicht berechtigt ist, diesen Teil des Dramas zu übergehen. Die langwierige und schmerzvolle Auseinandersetzung zwischen dem Amazonengesetz und Penthesileas Gefühl muss eine andere Bedeutung haben als die einer blossen Vorbereitung, sie nimmt räumlich bei weitem den überwiegenden Teil der Dichtung ein und ist ein essentieller Bestandteil des Dramas, sodass jede Auslegung, die diesen Teil vernachlässigt, keinen Anspruch auf eine volle Erfassung des Dramas erheben kann.

Entsprechendes gilt von der zweiten Gruppe der Auslegungen. Indem sie den Kampf von Gefühl und Gesetz als den Gehalt des Dramas betrachten, werden sie zwar den ersten 20 Auftritten gerecht, aber nicht der Tatsache, dass sich die Katastrophe nicht aus diesem Kampf ergibt. Schon im 19. Auftritt ist das Gesetz von Penthesilea überwunden worden: sie flucht ihrer Befreiung (2298 ff.) und wird daraufhin von der Oberpriesterin, der fleischlichen Verkörperung des Amazonengesetzes, von diesem Gesetz losgesprochen (2329 ff.). Die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Gesetz ist also an dieser Stelle tatsächlich zu Ende. Dem entspricht auf Seiten Achilles, dass er sich ebenfalls in diesem Stadium von den Geboten der Vernunft gelöst hat, indem er den Trojanerkrieg Penthesileas wegen aufgeben will. Auch in ihm hat also das Gefühl, die Liebe, den Sieg errungen. Das Problem des Dramas wäre somit an dieser Stelle gelöst, wenn nicht Penthesilea die Botschaft des Achilles missverstande und in ihr dadurch der irrige Glaube wachgerufen würde, dass nur sie, nicht aber der Geliebte der Liebe alles geopfert habe. In diesem *Missverständnis*, nicht aber im Gesetz selber liegt die Ursache der Katastrophe. Die Behauptung, dass Penthesilea am Gesetz zugrunde gehe, gleichgültig, wer schuldig ist, wird damit also hinfällig, da die Norm nicht selber ihren Tod herbeiführt. Dies wäre aber unbedingt notwendig, denn wenn das Gesetz nicht

¹⁰ Diese Variierung ist von Fricke, Gerhard: *Gefühl und Schicksal bei Kleist*, S 97 ff. vorgeschlagen worden.

von sich aus das abtrünnige Individuum strafen kann, wäre man gezwungen, hier die Wirksamkeit einer transzendenten Macht anzunehmen, die dem unterliegenden Gesetz zu Hilfe kommt. Nun sind zwar transzendente Mächte Kleist keineswegs fremd, wie *Amphitryon* und *Kätchen von Heilbronn* beweisen, aber es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass *Penthesilea* von jeder Beziehung auf jenseitige Gewalten frei ist und frei sein soll. Nichts berechtigt zur Annahme eines geheimnisvollen, über den Personen stehenden Schicksals, das in die Welt des Dramas eingreift, und damit fällt ein adäquater Kausalnexus zwischen der Gesetzesübertretung und der Katastrophe weg. Das Gesetz ist eine der Ursachen der schliesslichen Katastrophe, es ist sogar eine *conditio sine qua non*, da sich ohne es eine derartige Lage nicht hätte entwickeln können, aber es bedarf noch eines ganz entscheidenden und aus dem Gesetz selbst nicht erkläraren Umstandes, um zu dem gegebenen Ende zu kommen. Wallenstein stirbt z. B. am Gesetz, da dessen Verletzung sofort den Rächer auf den Plan ruft, der die beleidigte Ordnung wieder herstellt; demselben Schicksal unterliegen Hero und Leander (*Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*); *König Ottokars Glück und Ende* ist ausschliesslich durch seine jeweilige Haltung zum Gesetz bestimmt; aber Kleists Liebespaar stirbt nicht, weil es das Gesetz gebrochen, sondern sich missverstanden hat. Jede Interpretation der zweiten Gruppe kann daher nur teilweise richtig sein, denn sie kann dem zweiten Teil des Dramas, das mit dem Missverständnis der Botschaft Achills im 20. Auftritt einsetzt, nicht gerecht werden und die Katastrophe selbst nicht erklären.

Ist nun mit diesem negativen Resultat die Möglichkeit einer rationalen Analyse des Dramas überhaupt in Frage gestellt? Man wäre an sich geneigt, diese Frage im negativen Sinne zu beantworten, wenn nicht die Tatsache, dass alle Interpretationen an ein und demselben Punkte, dem Missverständnis der Botschaft des Achilles, scheitern, einen Fingerzeig gäbe, wo weitere Untersuchungen einzusetzen haben. Wenn überhaupt eine Lösung des Penthesilearätsels möglich ist, dann muss sie in der Erkenntnis der Bedeutung dieses Ereignisses liegen.

Schon Meyer-Benfey macht darauf aufmerksam, dass an dieser Stelle eine gewisse Cäsar vorliege.¹¹ Nach seiner Auffassung besitzt das Drama drei Teile, Auftritt 1-3 Vorspiel, 3-19 erster

¹¹ Kleist, I, S. 536.

Hauptteil, 20 bis Schluss zweiter Hauptteil. Man könnte schon bei dieser Feststellung stutzig werden, denn wenn jedes Drama notwendigerweise in eine Exposition (Stellung des Problems) und eine Haupthandlung (Lösung des Problems) zerfällt, so ist diese Dreiteilung, d. h. eine Auflösung der Haupthandlung in zwei Teile, sehr seltsam und stellt einen direkten Verstoss gegen das Gesetz der Einheit der Handlung dar. So wenig man die klassischen Regeln über die Einheiten der Zeit und des Raums im Drama als allgemeinverbindlich anerkennen kann, so wenig lässt sich an der dritten Einheit rütteln; die Einheit der Intrigue, des Problems, ist ein absolut notwendiges und niemals ernsthaft bestrittenes Erfordernis jeder dramatischen Dichtung. Und dass diese sonderbare Cäsar nicht nur gegen eine abstrakte Regel verstösst, sondern auch von dem Dichter selbst als zweifelhaft empfunden worden ist, beweist die Tatsache, dass er bei der Publikation des Penthesileafragments im *Phöbus* gerade mit dem Vers 2584 im 22. Auftritt abbrach, d. h. mit dem Triumphgeschrei der Amazonen über den Sturz des Achilles und der Aussicht, dass die Siegerin seinen Scheitel mit Rosen kränzen wird,¹² sodass Achill entsprechend seinem Wunsch gefangen und das Liebespaar schliesslich doch noch vereint erscheint. Kleist schloss also genau vor dem Moment, in dem die mit dem Missverständnis einsetzende neue Kausalität ihre ersten verderblichen Wirkungen zu zeigen anfängt.¹² Wenn er dazu an Goethe schreibt: "So, wie es hier steht, wird man vielleicht die Prämissen, als möglich, zugeben müssen, und nachher nicht erschrecken, wenn die Folgerungen gezogen werden,"¹³ so liegt in dem "vielleicht" sein eigener Zweifel ausgedrückt, ob das von ihm geplante Ende wirklich mit der vorhergehenden Handlung übereinstimmt, ob es, mit anderen Worten, wirklich mit Notwendigkeit aus den Prämissen folgt.

Und tatsächlich folgt das Ende nicht mit Notwendigkeit aus den Prämissen. Die Katastrophe stellt sich als eine Wirkung des Umstandes dar, dass Penthesilea sich über die wirkliche Mentalität des Griechen, über die Grösse seiner Liebe und seiner Opferbereitschaft völlig im Unklaren ist und in der Herausforderung zum Zweikampf nur die Äusserung des brutalen Überlegenen, der voll Hohn auf den Schwächeren herabblickt, sehen kann. Dieser Irrtum der Königin ist nun zwar noch in der Botschaft Achills klar

¹² *Phöbus*, 1. Stück, S. 33.

¹³ *Werke*, Bd. V, S. 370.

begründet, völlig unverständlich ist es aber, wie dieser zu einer solchen Formulierung seiner Botschaft kommen konnte. Der Kampf mit Penthesilea soll nach seiner Absicht nur zum Schein stattfinden und hierbei stehen nun drei Möglichkeiten offen: 1.) die Königin soll den Scheincharakter des Kampfes überhaupt nicht bemerken, sondern an eine wirkliche Überwindung glauben, 2.) sie soll den Scheincharakter während des Kampfes erkennen, 3.) sie soll schon der Botschaft selber anmerken, in welchem Geiste sie abgefasst worden ist. An welche dieser drei Möglichkeiten Kleist gedacht hat, bleibt unklar. Aus der Botschaft selbst lässt sich nicht entnehmen, dass es sich nur um einen Scheinkampf handeln soll, denn Achill betont ja gerade die Unvereinbarkeit seiner eigenen Wünsche mit denen Penthesileas (2358 ff.) und kündigt einen "Kampf auf Tod und Leben" an (2362), so dass hier nur ein entschiedener Wille zum Kampf, aber auch nicht die leiseste Andeutung seiner wahren Absichten zum Ausdruck kommt. Dass ausserdem ein Mensch wie die Amazonenkönigin sich auf eine blossе Farce kaum eingelassen hätte, ist evident. Die Botschaft soll also den Scheincharakter des Kampfes offenbar noch nicht verraten. Dann musste sich aber Achill darüber klar sein, was eine ernst scheinende Herausforderung in diesem Moment für Penthesilea bedeuten musste, dass sie darin nur eine Verhöhnung ihrer zartesten Gefühle sehen konnte und dass sie, wenn sie den Kampf daraufhin annahm, ihn mit der grössten Erbitterung und nur beseelt von dem Wunsche, die angetane Schmach zu rächen, führen würde. Dem steht aber die Tatsache gegenüber, dass Achill den Kampf nur als ein Kinderspiel ansieht, denn wie Meroe nachträglich erzählt, hatte er "nur zum Schein mit einem Spiess sich arglos ausgerüstet (2470)." Er hält also eine Verteidigung für völlig überflüssig, er ist, wie er selbst sagt, überzeugt davon, dass Penthesilea ihm nichts tun wird (2470 ff.):

". . . Eh wird ihr Arm
Im Zweikampf gegen Ihren Busen wüten
Und rufen: "Sieg!" wenn er von Herzblut trieft
Als wider mich!"

Selbst als der Herold das Nahen Penthesileas verkündet und ihren kriegesischen Aufzug beschreibt, ist Achill seiner Sache noch völlig sicher, ohne dass es auch nur andeutungsweise ersichtlich wird, worauf sich diese Sicherheit gegenüber einem sich verletzt glaubenden Feinde stützt, ja er sieht sogar entsprechend seinen Worten

(2539 ff.) diesen Aufzug nur als eine List Penthesileas an und ist überzeugt, dass ihre fürchterlichen Hunde aus der Hand fressen (2545). Dementsprechend scheidet also die zweite und dritte der angegebenen Möglichkeiten aus, da Achilles gegenüber einem bis aufs äusserste gereizten Feind weder diese Sicherheit haben konnte noch es wagen durfte, ihm ungerüstet gegenüber zu treten, sondern deutlich taucht an dieser Stelle die Vorstellung auf, dass Achill seine wahren Absichten schon in der Herausforderung zum Kampf angedeutet habe, eine Möglichkeit, die aus den vorher gezeigten Gründen aber ebenfalls ausscheidet.

Wie man die Absichten Achills auch zu erklären sucht, sie bleiben unklar und widerspruchsvoll. Nun entscheidet aber gerade diese Stelle über den Ausgang des Dramas, denn sobald Penthesilea erfahren würde, dass Achills Herausforderung keine Schmähung, sondern ein Opfer ist, würde die Katastrophe nicht eintreten, sie würde auch dann nicht eintreten, wenn ihr Achill voll gerüstet gegenübertritt und ihr dann während des Kampfes seine Absicht zu verstehen geben würde. Aus unverständlichen Gründen schneidet aber Achill jede Möglichkeit der Rettung ab, indem er die Königin erst aufs äusserste reizt und ihr dann unbewaffnet gegenübertritt. Es liegt hier ein völliger Mangel an Motivierung vor, es entfällt infolgedessen die Notwendigkeit des Geschehensablaufs, die unbedingtes Erfordernis jeder Tragik ist, es liegt kein Nur-so-und-nicht-anders-sein-können vor, und somit beruht die Katastrophe auf einer unbegründeten Gedankenlosigkeit Achills. Wir haben es hier also mit dem nicht häufigen und stets schwer erkennbaren Phänomen eines psychologischen Zufalls zu tun, d. h. eines Zufalls in der Motivierung eines Entschlusses, der in seiner praktischen Auswirkung dem gewöhnlichen Ereigniszufall völlig gleich steht. Nun braucht ein Zufall an sich keine erhebliche Bedeutung zu haben, wie der bekannte Zufall in *Romeo und Julia* beweist, durch den die Botschaft des Bruder Lorenzo an Romeo verhindert wird (1, 2); der Zufall dient hier allein dazu, die Handlung dem schon vorbestimmten Ende schneller zuzuführen. Ganz anders liegt dies aber in *Penthesilea*, der Zufall bedeutet hier nicht nur eine Beschleunigung des Ablaufs, denn da die Handlung ohne sein Dazwischentreten beendet sein würde, bedeutet der Zufall eine völlig neue Exposition, durch die ein neues, aus den vorhergehenden Ereignissen nicht bedingtes Geschehen eingeleitet wird. Es liegt hier also ganz deutlich ein *Bruch in der Handlung* vor, und dieser Bruch ist der

Grund dafür, dass alle Interpretationsversuche, die sich um eine einheitliche Erfassung des Dramas bemühen, scheitern müssen.¹⁴

Ein Bruch in der Handlung bedeutet, dass ein poetischer Geschehensablauf trotz der Gleichheit des äusseren Rahmens, d. h. der Identität der Personen, der zeitlichen Kontinuität, der Gleichheit des Milieus, an einer bestimmten Stelle den Gehalt wechselt und von nun an der inneren Problematik (*l'intrigue*) und dem Sinn des Geschehens nach ein anderer ist als zuvor. Dies ist der Fall in *Penthesilea*. Die Handlung läuft anscheinends stetig weiter, das Schicksal der Amazonin wird von ihrer ersten Begegnung mit Achill bis zu ihrem Tode dargestellt, aber es kann kein Zweifel obwalten, dass hier nacheinander zwei verschiedenen Ideen Ausdruck gegeben ist, wie eine Betrachtung des Gehalts beider Teile zeigt.

Betrachten wir zunächst den ersten Teil.¹⁵ Seine Auslegung schliesst sich der zweiten Gruppe der oben unterschiedenen Interpretationsarten an und behandelt die Auseinandersetzung von Individuum und Gesetz, wobei Kleist, wie stets, auf Seiten des Individuums steht und dessen Rechte gegen Vernunft und Gesetz vertritt. "Der Mensch passt nicht für das Gefäss eines Amtes, wenn ein höheres Feuer ihn erwärmt" so schreibt der Dichter in Beziehung auf sich an Ulrike,¹⁶ und so denkt er über *Penthesilea* und Achill. Mit Sympathie betrachtet er den Prozess der stufenweisen Lösung vom Gesetz, der sich auf beiden Seiten vollzieht. Die innere Auflehnung *Penthesileas* gegen das Gesetz beginnt im 9. Auftr. (1187), der äussere Bruch folgt sogleich, indem sie ihre Flucht vorsätzlich verzögert und der von der Oberpriesterin (dem Gesetz) nicht verstandenen Stimme ihres Herzens folgt. Noch hat sie aber das Gesetz nicht überwunden, denn als sie aus einer Ohnmacht erwachend Achill sich zu Füßen sieht und ihn gefangen wähnt, gewinnt mit der vermeintlichen Leichtigkeit seiner Erfüllung ihre Treue zum Gesetz wieder die Oberhand in ihr. Sie scheut den Kampf mit der hergebrachten Ordnung und sucht ihn zu vermeiden,

¹⁴ H. Wittig erklärt zwar das Drama einheitlich als Ausdruck von Kleists Ringen um Guiskard, jedoch wird damit, selbst wenn diese Auffassung richtig ist, nur die Einheit einer der inneren Quellen dieser Dichtung, nicht aber die Einheit des Dramas als solchen erklärt (*Das innere Erlebnis H. v. Kleists*: Diss. Greifswald).

¹⁵ Die folgenden Ausführungen beschränken sich auf den kurzen Grundriss einer Interpretation.

¹⁶ Brief vom 25. November 1800, *Werke* Bd. V, S. 37.

solange sie kann. Dasselbe gilt für Achill, der auch zunächst noch hofft, Pflicht und Neigung vereinigen zu können (vgl. sein "Nach Phthia!" im 17. Auftr. 2284).¹⁷ Erst in der nun folgenden Trennung erklimmen die Liebenden die letzte Stufe, indem sie sich endgültig über das Gesetz hinwegsetzen: Penthesilea, indem sie ihrer Befreiung aus den Händen Achills flucht, Achill, indem er sich entschliesst, sich der Amazonin gefangen zu geben. Damit ist das Problem gelöst, der Dichter billigt die Vereinigung der Liebenden gegen Gesetz und Vernunft, der Mensch erweist sich als stärker als die abstrakte Norm, die die Vereinigung der Liebenden weder innerlich noch äusserlich verhindern kann.

Anstatt damit abzubrechen entwickelt der Dichter nun eine neue Problematik: So gross sein Vertrauen zu dem natürlichen Lebensgefühl des Individuums ist, so gross ist seine Angst vor der "Gefühlsverwirrung." Penthesilea hat die höchste Stufe dieser Verwirrung erreicht, sie befindet sich in einem Taumel, einem Wahnzustand, der genauso wie bei den Schroffensteinern nur zur allgemeinen Vernichtung führen kann. Hier schweigt entsprechend Gundolfs Wort die Vernunft völlig, es gibt nur "ruhige Ufer, durch welche die entfesselten Ströme Achilles und Penthesilea einander entgegenbrausen," die Leidenschaften regieren hier mit absoluter und von der Vernunft nicht eingeschränkter Gewalt.

Deutlich heben sich also die beiden Teilen der Penthesileatragödie voneinander ab: Die Überwindung des Gesetzes durch das Individuum ist der erste Teil des Dramas, die Tragödie der sinnlos entfesselten Leidenschaft sein zweiter. Die innere Verbindung zwischen diesen Teilen ist schwach und damit muss jede Deutung ihren Zweck verfehlen, die an der Tatsache dieses Bruches vorübergeht.

HANS M. WOLFF

Brown University

¹⁷ Auf die Frage, wie weit Achill eigene Bedeutung hat und wie weit er nur um Penthesileas willen da ist, braucht hier nicht eingegangen zu werden.

PRINZ FRIEDRICH VON HOMBURG AND FREEDOM OF INITIATIVE

The question of the degree of initiative accorded the youthful hero of Kleist's drama *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* has been discussed widely. This question is of importance, for numerous critics maintain either that the drama glorifies authority, or that it proclaims the right to the assertion of individual initiative, or that it mediates between such opposing points of view. Various divergent interpretations made over a period of one hundred years following the publication of the drama were summarized by Hermann Gilow in the year 1922.¹ More recently Professor Heinrich Meyer-Benfey again referred to this much debated issue. He wrote in part:

Der Herrscher verlangt von seinen Untertanen selbstverständlich Gehorsam . . . aber nicht blinden Gehorsam . . . sondern sehenden: Gehorsam aus eigener Einsicht und freier Zustimmung. . . . Aber der Herrscher soll auch die Natur des anderen verstehen und ehren und sein Gefühl achten. Damit ist die Forderung blinden Gehorsams unvereinbar. Und Kleists Fürsten handeln wirklich dieser Forderung gemäss. Als Hermann den jungen Luitgar als Boten an Marbod schickt, da teilt er ihm nicht nur den Inhalt des Schreibens mit, das er überbringen soll, sondern er begleitet dies mit einer eingehenden Begründung und vollständigen Darlegung seiner Absichten, fragt ihn um seine Meinung und antwortet seinen Einwänden. Er tut das, damit Luitgar in unvorhergesehenen Fällen selbstständig handeln kann. Und zu dem gleichen Zweck teilt der grosse Kurfürst im ersten Akt des "Prinzen von Homburg" nicht nur jedem Truppenführer mit, was er zu tun hat, sondern er lässt den versammelten den ganzen Schlachtentwurf vorlesen, dass jeder das ganze Stück, in dem er eine Rolle hat, und damit die Begründung seiner Aufgabe kennt. Eigenmächtige Entscheidung bei nicht programmgemäsem Verlauf, wie er in einer Schlacht immer vorkommen kann, wird also nicht nur nicht verboten, sondern gewünscht und ermöglicht.²

On one fundamental point Meyer-Benfey is in error. Careful scrutiny of the drama does not support his contention that the dictation of the complete plan of battle grows out of the desire of

¹ Hermann Gilow: *Heinrich von Kleists Prinz Friedrich von Homburg 1821-1921. Jahrbuch der Kleist-Gesellschaft 1921*. Berlin, Weidmann. 1922. pp. 22-50.

² Heinrich Meyer-Benfey: *Kleists politische Anschauungen. Jahrbuch der Kleist-Gesellschaft 1931 und 1932*. Berlin, Weidmann. 1932. p. 22.

the elector to accord freedom of initiative in case the battle does not progress as had been anticipated. Moreover, there is nothing in the orders issued to Homburg which justifies Meyer-Benfey's conclusion that under such unforeseen circumstances intervention is not merely not forbidden, but is desired and rendered possible. For Homburg is told unequivocally as follows:

Des Prinzen Durchlaucht wird—
 Nach unsers Herrn ausdrücklichem Befehl—
 Wie immer auch die Schlacht sich wenden mag
 Vom Platz nicht, der ihm angewiesen, weichen—
 Als bis gedrängt von Hennings und von Truchses—
 Des Feindes linker Flügel, aufgelöst,
 Auf seinen rechten stürzt, und alle seine
 Schlachthaufen wankend nach der Trift sich drängen,
 In deren Sümpfen, oft durchkreuzt von Gräben,
 Der Kriegsplan eben ist, ihn aufzureiben.—
 Dann wird er die Fanfare blasen lassen.—
 Doch wird des Fürsten Durchlaucht ihm, damit,
 Durch Missverstand, der Schlag zu früh nicht falle—
 Ihm einen Offizier aus seiner Suite senden,
 Der den Befehl, das merkt, ausdrücklich noch
 Zum Angriff auf den Feind ihm überbringe.
 Eh' wird er nicht Fanfare blasen lassen.*

Obviously, Meyer-Benfey is correct in asserting that the reading of the complete plan of battle, of which the above lines form an important part, is to acquaint the assembled leaders with the necessity of relating each individual command to the whole. Yet the elector allows the prince no leeway whatsoever, for he commands Homburg expressly not to leave the place assigned to him, regardless of what may happen, until a certain objective has been reached. Nor does he allow the ardent prince any opportunity to judge for himself the proper moment for the cavalry charge, for the latter is to await a personally transmitted order to attack. The precision of the elector's commands is emphasized by his final injunction that Homburg is to remain calm, and not to jeopardize this victory on which the elector's throne and realm are staked (ll. 348 ff.). The reminder that Homburg had already deprived the elector of two victories renders this admonishment all the more insistent.

* Lines 293 ff. For the sake of clarity the byplay which interrupts the reading of this command has been omitted. The dashes indicate interruptions in the text.

Although he errs in assuming that the elector invites freedom of action, Meyer-Benfey is right in stating that the prince's guilt lies essentially in being impelled to attack by motives of personal ambition and by an urge for action, without consideration of and in opposition to the plan of battle as a whole.⁴ For in spite of assumptions by various critics that an unforeseen turn in the tactical situation justified Homburg's unauthorized attack, there is nothing in the second scene of the second act to indicate that a changed situation prompts the hasty charge. Upon general shouts of triumph and victory Homburg impetuously orders the attack without reference to any change in developments (ll. 468 ff.). His conduct is clearly disobedience in the face of the enemy rather than exercise of initiative left to him by the elector. Moreover, it is so construed by Kottwitz, who reminds Homburg at the time of the charge that he is to wait for the order to attack (ll. 471 ff.), and subsequently by the elector as he summons the arbitrary transgressor before a court-martial (ll. 715 ff.), and when he explains to Kottwitz the unfavorable results of the untimely attack (ll. 1541 ff.).

JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL

Wesleyan University

JEAN PAULS SCHULMEISTER

Vor 125 Jahren—im Jahre 1812—erschien ein kleines Buch, von dem der Verfasser in der Vorrede sagte: "Einige wenige harmlose, schuldlose, lichte, glanzlose Leute mit ähnlichen Schicksalen durchleben . . . ein leises graues laues Abendregnen, unter welchem statt der Blumen die unscheinbare Erde ausduftet, wozu höchstens noch ein Fingerbreit Abendrot und drei Strahlen Abendstern kommen möchten." Es ist die Lebensgeschichte "des berühmten Herrn Gotthelf Fibel, Verfasser des neuen Markgräfluster, fränkischen, Voigtlandischen und kurhessischen ABC Buches" von Jean Paul Richter.

Jean Paul gehört zu den seltsam beflügelten Menschen wie Hölderlin und Kleist, die schwer an den durchschnittlichen Massstäben der literaturgeschichtlichen Terminologie gemessen werden

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

können. Seine grossen Romane—der *Titan*, die *Flegeljahre*, der Armenadvokat Siebenkäs—sind eine *Odyssee* der sozialen Schichtung des 18. Jahrhunderts. Jean Paul konnte viel. Er konnte aber auch, was wir alle nicht mehr können: Tragen der Armut, Erleben der *Wochentäglichkeiten*. Er erniedrigt das Grosse und er erhebt das Kleine und so entsteht "das Vollglück der Beschränkung" in der Idylle. Aber hier beginnt auch die Schwierigkeit der geistesgeschichtlichen Eingliederung Jean Pauls. Annelies Meyer (*Die höfische Lebensform in der Welt Jean Pauls*, Neue Forschung Bd. 18, Berlin 1933, 112 ff.) neigt wie J. Volkelt (*Die Kunst des Individualisierens in den Dichtungen Jean Pauls*, Philosophische Abhandlungen dem Andenken R. Hayms gewidmet, Halle 1902, 273 ff.) dazu, das *hohe Menschentum* zum Schlüssel des Verständnisses zu machen. Benno v. Wiese hingegen nennt in seinem Vortrag (Jean Paul-Gesellschaft, Bayreuth 26. Okt. 1935, veröffentlicht in der *Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde* 1935, 673 ff.) Jean Pauls Figuren "Symbole unsres deutschen Volkstums," "*Kauzigkeiten* des deutschen Lebens." Damit stehn wir vor Extremen der Interpretation, die ihren Ausgangspunkt in Unter- und Überwertung der Idyllen nimmt.

Woraus entsteht die Fabel dieser Idyllenwelt? Aus dem Kindsein und dem Kindbleiben. Das Kind im Manne ist für Jean Paul die Gewähr eines ganzen Mannes. Es ist, wie Pelz, Fibels Biograph sagt, "die Zwiebelwurzel des Helden." Alle Jean Paulschen Helden schliessen von Zeit zu Zeit ihre Kinderstube wieder auf. Eine lackierte Kindertrompete, ein zinnerner Fingerring, ein Kalender bleiben für Wuz, Fixlein, Jubelseniör und Fibel unvergesslich. Sie alle sind wie Wuz im Spiel Hase, Turteltaube, Pferd oder der Wagen davor. Sie bauen ein Mückenhospital wie Fixlein, sie hängen den Finkenkolben aus und sie nehmen die blaue Schürze vor und halten in diesem Messgewand der Magd des Vaters eine Strafpredigt wie Wuz. Sie sammeln Kalender, Zwergebüchlein und treten Sonntags die Orgel in der Kirche. Und aus diesen kindlichen und ernsthaften Spielen entsteht das Gleichgewicht ihrer Welt. Aus den Weihnachts- und Osterfreuden des Kindes wachsen die Festtage des Lebens auf, aus Kirchgang und Orgelspiel das Gottesbewusstsein des Mannes und aus dem ABC-Ehrgeiz der Kinder das geistige Finale der Alten. Aus den 12 Monatskupfern und aus den Wetterregeln der Kalender baut sich ihnen die Gesetzmässigkeit der Jahreszeiten und der Landschaft auf, aus den Namen, Würden

und Ämtern der Kundmachungen der Begriff der staatlichen Ordnung. Aus der Enge der Wohnstube ergibt sich das Erlebnis des Weltraums und aus dem Ablauf des Kirchenjahres das Bewusstsein für Zeit und Raum.

Diese Helden der *Wochentäglichkeiten* sind die Schulmeister, Subrektoren und Pfarrherren, Menschen wie Wuz, Fixlein, Senior und Fibel. Es sind die Lehrer, die die ganze Schule liebt, weil sie nicht donnern sondern spielen, weil ihnen alles Lehren mehr "ein Wärmen als ein Säen" ist. Es sind die lächelnden Menschen, denen wir wieder zulächeln müssen, die eine warme Stube lieben, die Fensterflora und die Dämmerstunden. Es sind die Menschen, die über jedes Stäubchen Belege, Quittungen und Kontrakte ausstellen, die ihr eigener Tintenkoch sind und für die die Wäschezeichen der Mutter die ersten Inkunabeln waren. Es sind die Menschen, die in Trinkgeldern genau, in Kaufschillingen gerecht und in Almosen verschwenderisch sind. Es sind die Knaben, die wie Wuz alle Ausnahmen der Grammatik kennen, aber keine Regeln, die noch als alte Knaben Robinson lieber lesen als Homer. Die Kunst fröhlich zu sein ist ihre oberste Kunst. Und der 3. Paragraph dieser Kunst hiess für Wuz: ich wurde verliebt. Sie freuen sich beim Aufstehn auf das Mittagessen und beim Mittagstisch auf das Vesperläuten. Sie führen wie Wuz nur ein Einnahme- aber kein Ausgabenbuch. Sie halten junge Vögel und Pflanzen, an denen sie am Morgen sehn können, wie ihnen Federn und Blätter gewachsen sind. Und für den Pudel liegt mit ein Gedeck an Fixleins Tisch. Ein Geburtsdorf genügt ihnen. Denn sie halten auch eine Residenzstadt nur "für eine Collekte von Dörfern," einen Hof für "ein verkleinertes Italien" (*Jubelsenor* 72) ¹ und alles Grosse für "eine grössere Zahl von Kleinigkeiten."

Zu ihnen gehören die guten Frauen: Justine, ThINETTE, Drotta. Ihnen gehört der Reiz der Haubenbänder und der Schnupftücher, die kleinen Pfefferkuchen, die Vorfreuden der Hochzeit, der Nachsommer der Ehe und die "600 Krankheiten der Schwangerschaft." Am wichtigsten sind die Mütter. Fibel bleibt noch als Ehemann seiner untertan, "als würde er garnicht älter." Der Sohn ist für sie, wie für Fixleins Mutter, ein "in Kupfer gestochener Figurant" ihrer Bilderbibel. Ihr Element ist das Kochfeuer und der Fegewirbel. Im geduldigsten Zuhören über Tod und Ewigkeit können

¹ Zitatsziffern sind aus der leicht zugänglichen Reclamausgabe genommen.

sie wie Siebenkäs Lenette sagen: "Zieh morgen den linken Strumpf nicht an, ich muss ihn erst stopfen." Sie sind die derberen Monde im Sonnensystem des Mannes. Aber in ihren kleinen Seelen lebt ein grosser Begriff von den Festtagen. Sie halten darauf, dass es Ostern Käsekuchen gibt und zu Martini eine Gans. Und an diesen Tagen suchen sie draussen auf, was ihre Seele liebt—die Schmetterlinge, Wurzeln, Kräuter und die Heimatdörfer.

Diese scheinbar einfache Welt ist aber keine fragmentarische Welt, wie es neben Jean Pauls hohem Menschentum fürs erste scheinen könnte. Ist die hohe Welt, wie A. Meyer nachweist, das "grosse Problem," das Höfisches und Kleinbürgerliches umschliesst, so ist die kleine Welt der Schulmeister und Pfarrherren ein Universum, das die Schatten der hohen Welt in sich begreift. Gutsherrn und Patronatsherrn, Markgrafen und Rektoren und die fürstlichen Feste—Geburtstage, Vokationstage und Hochzeitstage—spielen hinein. Menschen wie Fixlein nehmen vor vornehmen Fenstern im Vorbeigehn den Hut ab, sie schreiben den Namen eines hohen Herrn nie ohne ein H. vorher in ihr Notizbuch ein. Und sie schreiben den Namen Gottes mit bunter Tinte nieder. Dieses "geistige Nestmachen" ist *nicht mehr* Abhängigkeit von der bestimmenden Atmosphäre des Höfischen,² hier beginnt ein eigengesetzliches Lebensgefühl der Kleinen. In diesem bewussten Gefühl der Distanz liegt die erste Beglaubigung und Bejahung des *eigenen Lebensraumes*. Gewiss weder Wuz, noch Fixlein, noch Fibel sind Albanonaturen, die sich mit der Lebenskunst der Humanität auseinandersetzen. Diese sanften und leichten Menschen sind starke Esser und fröhliche Trinker. Fixleins Magen war so stark wie sein Herz. Und Fibels Geburtstags-Essen ist eine Schlemmermahlzeit von "Prinzesspastete, Hasenkuchen, Wiener Spiesskrapfen, Galanterieküchlein und Marzipan." Und der Wein macht sie fromm und weich und lässt "die Harmonikaglocken" im Menschen klingen (*Fixlein* 116, *Jubelseniör* 128). Sie haben eine weibliche Vorliebe für Möbel und Behaglichkeit, sie stehen leicht in Tränen, sie hassen den Tabaksrauch und sie

² Annelies Meyer, *Die höfische Lebensform in der Welt Jean Pauls*, p. 109: "Hier kann nur der Wille und die Treue zum Kleinen dem Leben einen Sinn geben, da das Abgeleitete, Enge, die Abhängigkeit der Verhältnisse ja überall deutlich empfunden wird und immer das Höfische doch das bestimmende Element der Atmosphäre bleibt."

haben leichte Frauenhände. Von jedem Einzelnen von ihnen darf man sagen, was Jean Paul von sich selbst sagte: "Ich bin ein Selbstzünder und ich brauche keine Geliebte um warm und keine Tragödie um weich zu werden."

Hier muss auch der Trennungsstrich gezogen werden zu den Lateinern unter den Schulmeistern. Wenn W. Harich (*Jean Paul*, Leipzig 1925) in seinem Kapitel über die Idylle von einem bewussten Gegensatz Jean Pauls "Zur oberen Schichte der Latinität" spricht und die Schulmeistergestalten und den Lebensstrom der Idyllen darin begründet sehn will, so trifft dies nur für die kleine Gruppe der Fälbel, Freudell und Schmelzle zu. Diese frühen Pädagogen, die später aus der literarischen Welt Jean Pauls verschwinden, sind die Antipoden unsrer Schulmeister. Das sind die mitleidslosen Knauser des Lebens, die auch die Ehemänner "mit vierschrotigem Herzen und dickstämmigen Seelen" sind. Es sind die lächerlichen zerstreuten Philologen, die wie Freudell "Herein" sagen, wenn sie ihre Pfeife ausklopfen. Es sind die überheblichen Männer, weil sie am Billardtisch griechisch zählen können, die für Deklinationsfehler am liebsten das Arkebusieren einführen möchten, die ihre Schüler "natürliche Theologie und Vergnügen an der Natur" dozieren, für die eine Reise "Motion mit Geographie" ist und für die der Bauer der Lieferant für Provinzialismen ist. Ihnen fehlt vollkommen der Festtagscharakter der Schulmeister, deren Vokation zugleich ein Jubelsonntag ist.

Die Herrschergrösse unsrer Schulmeister ist ihre Geistigkeit. Sie ist Dorfnähe und Weltferne zugleich, das bedeutet Polhöhe und Poltiefe einer Welt. Ein kindlich arbeitender Abstraktionsdrang hält die rund umher in tausend Spiegelungen zerfallende Welt zusammen. Daraus ergibt sich dieses tragikomische Schöpfungstum der Kleinen, das die unerreichbare Ferne zum Besitz der Armen macht. Sie stapeln alte Kalender, Bücherverzeichnisse, Dütenpapiere, Journale auf. Alle Sprachen der Welt, deren Vokalismus diese Schulmeister kaum ahnen, werden Ewigkeit in Fibels Alphabeten. Und die Werte, die sie nicht fassen, werden Besitz in Fraktur und Kanzleischrift, in roter, gelber und grüner Tinte. Sie sind anscheinend nur die einfältigen Sammler von errata und die geduldigen Kopisten von Majuscula. Und sie schreiben bedacht-sam in Oktav, Querfolio und Sedez. Das stoffliche Interesse ist fast aufgehoben. Aber in dieser Magie der Buchstaben baut sich

die Wertordnung einer neuen Welt auf. Hier ist der Ordnungssinn des Quintaners, die Sauberkeit der Wohnstube Fixleins, in der Bürste, Fliegenklatsche und Kalender am richtigen Flecke hängt, Baufreude des Denkers geworden, der die Gestaltung des Kosmos in Kleinen vornimmt und der in der Schrulle seiner Dorfgeistigkeit die Schöpfungsgeschichte wiederholt. Keine Welt Jean Pauls erlaubt einen fragmentarischen Bestand. Nehmen wir den Tropfen für das Abbild des Weltmeeres und nehmen wir mit dem Helden das Blumenbeet für den Wald, eine Vokation für ein Vollglück, eine Fibel für die magische Offenbarung des Geistigen, ein Regenwölkchen für Tragik und die Welt ist durchlaufen.

Diese Menschen sind weder Klassiker, noch Romantiker, sondern Menschen mit einer "dem Biedermeier verwandten Andacht zu den leisen und unscheinbaren Dingen," wie B. v. Wiese (p. 681) andeutet. Wenn er zugleich hervorhebt, dass Jean Pauls Idylle "eine Gewissheit höchster Daseinsvollendung" aufweist, wie wir sie sonst nur bei Stifter finden, so heisst das entwicklungsgeschichtlich gesprochen: Auftakt zur Biedermeierdichtung. Wenn wir die emotionalen Worte "Kauzigkeiten des deutschen Lebens" und ähnliches bei Seite schieben, so verebbt der Streit um Jean Paul. Seine Idylle ist zweifellos überwältigend Bekenntnisdichtung. Viel von seinem eigenen "geistigen Nestmachen" liegt in ihr. Jean Paul selbst exzerpierte seit seinem 15. Jahre, daher das ungewöhnlich reiche Tatsachen-Material. Er führte ein eigenes Wörterbuch, eine Sammlung von guten und schlechten Namen von Personen, Orten und Titeln, er legte Einfälle, Pläne in Studienheften fest—ein Sammler durch und durch. Und so weit die Idyllen "Bekenntnisdichtung" sind, wie B. v. Wiese sagt, sind sie Ausdruck des *Biedermeier J. Paul*.

Ohne auf die Fragwürdigkeit einer Verallgemeinerung dieses Begriffs *Bekenntnisdichtung* für die ganze deutsche Literatur einzugehen, muss ihm aber innerhalb der Jean Paulschen Dichtung eine strikte Grenze gesetzt werden, soll der Rangstreit zwischen Roman und Idylle schweigen und der Dichter im ehrlichen Lichte seiner geistesgeschichtlichen Bedeutung stehn. In den hohen Romanen, die um ein grosses Menschentum herum gebaut sind, steckt—trotz Wiese *Erkenntnisdichtung*. Und Erkenntnis ist zeitgebunden. Der Hof war eine milieubildende Kraft des 18. Jahrhunderts. Und Spiegelungen höfischer Machtfragen in der

bürgerlichen Welt sind soziologisch gesehn der natürliche Abglanz der höfischen Herrschaftsschicht. In diesen Romanen haben daher auch die alten Elemente des Bundesromanes Raum, die Hamletschen Melancholien, die Toleranz und Erziehungsträume und die Sternesche Satire. Der Mensch des 18. Jahrhunderts muss seine menschliche Substanz in Auseinandersetzung mit einer bestimmten höfischen Form behaupten. Er muss vor ihr und trotz ihr bestehen. Und erst über diese hohen Menschen hinaus konnte Jean Paul zu den Formen bürgerlicher Wirklichkeit gelangen. Hier geht es nicht um Weite und Enge, sondern um *den Umbruch der sozial tragenden Schicht*.

In Albano, Gustav, Flamin, Ottomar, Gaspard liegt die Abrechnung mit dem Bildungsgut, das Jean Paul in sich selbst noch zu bewältigen hatte. Und in den Lateinern Fälbel, Freudell, Klagibell setzt sich die Abrechnungslinie bis ins Kleine fort. Sie sind ein idyllischer Exkurs zu den hohen Romanen des absolutistischen 18. Jahrhunderts. Die vorerst feindlichen Problemkreise ständischer Werte und der Persönlichkeitswerte müssen mit *Erkenntnis* durchschritten sein, ehe die Idylle das *Bekenntnis* zur bürgerlichen Persönlichkeitsgestaltung des biedermeierlichen Schulmeisters ablegen konnte. Und damit erhält Jean Paul geistesgeschichtlich seinen Platz am Schnittpunkt zweier Kulturen, an dem der Kavalier des 18. Jahrhunderts abdankt und der neue preussische Bürger in den Vordergrund tritt, für den Friedrich Wilhelm III. 1803/10 die Orden "für bürgerliche Tugenden" gestiftet hatte.

MARIANNE THALMANN

Wellesley College

CHAUCER AND AULUS GELLIUS

In the form most familiar to students of Chaucer, Deschamps' famous ballade addressed to the English poet opens as follows:¹

O Socrates plains de philosophie,
Seneque en meurs et Anglax en pratique,
Ovides grans en ta poeterie,
Bries en parler, saiges en rethorique.

In the interpretation of these lines uncertainty has always been

¹ W. W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, I, Oxford, 1899, pp. lvi-lvii.

felt concerning the meaning of the passage *et Anglux en pratique*, and especially of the word *Anglux*. There can be no doubt that in the unique manuscript this word reads either *anglux* or *auglux*.² Virtually all the editors adopt the reading *anglux*, and they commonly capitalize the word as a proper name.³ Toynbee translates the passage, "and English in practice," and Lounsbury renders it, "and English in conduct of life."⁴

In the most complete commentary that has yet been written upon Deschamps' poem, the late Professor Jenkins emended the unintelligible *et Anglux* of the second line to *Auglius*, and interpreted it as meaning Aulus Gellius.⁵ The expression *Auglius en pratique* Jenkins translates, "an Aulus Gellius in practical affairs," and adds the following trenchant comment:⁶

Auglius (MS. *anglux*) I take to be Aulus Gellius. Deschamps used the *Policraticus*, and the name appears there (Webb's excellent edition ii, p. 99, 23) as Agellius; and it was so generally spelled until corrected by Lambeck († 1680). "Quelquesuns," says the old *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*, "le nomment Agellius, d'autres Augellius." From St. Augustine's sanction: "Vir elegantissimi eloquii et multae ac facundae scientiae," down to Boccaccio's "noble historiar," Gellius, more popular than Quintilian, en-

² A photograph of the pages containing Deschamps' ballade in the unique manuscript (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Fonds français, MS. 840, fol. 62r-62v) is given by Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion, 1357-1900*, III, Cambridge, 1925, Appendix B, facing p. 16.

³ The standard edition is that of [A. H. E.] Queux de Saint-Hilaire, *Œuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps* (*Sociétés des anciens Textes français*), 11 vols., Paris, 1878-1903. Notes are contributed by G. Raynaud in vols. x and xi. For the ballade to Chaucer see II, 138; *Collection des Poètes champenois: Œuvres inédites d'Eustache Deschamps* [ed. P. Tarbé], I, Paris, 1849, p. 123; E.-G. Sandras, *Étude sur G. Chaucer*, Paris, 1859, p. 261; P. Toynbee, *The Ballade addressed by Eustache Deschamps to Geoffrey Chaucer*, in *The Academy* XL (1891), 432-3; P. Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French*, Oxford, 1892, pp. 314-5. The reading *et angles en pratique* (see T. Wright, *Anecdota Literaria*, London, 1844, p. 13) must be regarded as careless.

⁴ See Toynbee, in *The Academy*, XL (1891), 432; T. R. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, III, New York, 1892, p. 14.

⁵ T. A. Jenkins, *Deschamps' Ballade to Chaucer*, in *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIII (1918), 268-78. Earlier printings of this ballade, and comments upon it, are listed by Jenkins, p. 268. On p. 271 he suggests that *et anglux* might be emended to *et Auglus*, still meaning Aulus Gellius.

⁶ Jenkins, p. 271.

joyed a high reputation: a double reputation, in fact, for he was eminent both in letters and in the world of affairs as a judge. Even juriconsults have drawn upon Gellius in matters of law: so Dirksen, *Hinterlassene Schriften*, I, 21. Chaucer, in Deschamps' mind, is eminent not only in letters, but also in "practice," as one may speak in these days of the practice of a lawyer, or of a physician. Flanked as he is here by Seneca and Ovid, Gellius, it seems to me, has much better claims than the obscure and unpublished Angelus of Rome suggested by Raynaud (XI, 204).⁷

Probably few will deny that Professor Jenkins has revealed a reasonable possibility, and presumably his suggestion that in the passage before us Deschamps meant to name Aulus Gellius has already been welcomed generally as the most acceptable explanation at hand. In supporting his argument by a parallel between Gellius and Chaucer as men of practical affairs, however, Professor Jenkins seems to me to have overlooked more obvious and persuasive evidence. During the Middle Ages most persons who knew of Aulus Gellius at all must have formed their acquaintanceship through his one work of wide appeal, the entertaining *Noctes Atticae*, in which he is revealed not as a lawyer or man of practical affairs, but as a reader of old books and a collector and recorder of curious information found in them. I suggest, therefore, that if Deschamps was addressing Chaucer as "Aulus Gellius en pratique" he had in mind not so much the *practical occupations* of the two men as their *literary habits*. Concerning these habits both writers are delightfully communicative. In the preface to his *Noctes Atticae* Gellius discloses his literary predilections with engaging candor:⁸

For whenever I had taken in hand any Greek or Latin book, or had heard anything worth remembering, I used to jot down whatever took my fancy, of any and every kind, without any definite plan or order; and such notes I would lay away as an aid to my memory, like a kind of literary store-house. . . . And since, as I have said, I began to amuse myself by assembling these notes during the long winter nights which I spent on a

⁷ G. Raynaud's suggestion is found in the standard *Oeuvres complètes d'Eustache Deschamps*, ed. Queux de Saint-Hilaire, xi, 204: "Angres (*lisez* Ange) de Rome, dont le nom figure dans un catalogue des livres de Dunois publié par Leroux de Lincy, et dont quelques lettres se trouvent dans un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale." Apparently nothing reassuring has been discovered concerning Raynaud's "Angres (*lisez* Ange) de Rome."

⁸ *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*, with an English translation by John C. Rolfe, I, London, etc., 1927, pp. xxvii, xxxv, xxxvii.

country-place in the land of Attica, I have therefore given them the title of *Attic Nights*. . . . For those, however, who have never found pleasure nor busied themselves in reading, inquiring, writing and taking notes, who have never spent wakeful nights in such employments, who have never improved themselves by discussion and debate with rival followers of the same Muse, but are absorbed in the turmoil of business affairs—for such men it will be by far the best plan to hold wholly aloof from these "Nights." . . . As much longer life as the Gods' will shall grant me, and as much respite as is given me from managing my affairs and attending to the education of my children, every moment of that remaining and leisure time I shall devote to collecting similar brief and entertaining memoranda.

A sympathetic reader of Chaucer hardly needs to be reminded of the resemblance in temper between this agreeable *apologia* of Gellius and the engaging confessions of the English poet:

Thanne mote we to bokes that we fynde,
 Thourgh whiche that olde thynges ben in mynde,
 And to the doctryne of these olde wyse
 Yeven credence, in every skylful wyse,
 And trowen on these olde aproved storyes
 Of holynesse, of regnes, of victoryes,
 Of love, of hate, of othere sondry thynges,
 Of whiche I may nat make rehersynges.
 And if that olde bokes weren aweye,
 Yloren were of remembraunce the keye.

On bokes for to rede I me delyte,
 And in myn herte have hem in reverence,
 And to hem yeve swich lust and swich credence
 That there is wel unethe game non
 That fro my bokes make me to gon.*
 Of usage—what for lust and what for lore—
 On bokes rede I ofte, as I yow tolde.

For out of olde felde, as men seyth,
 Cometh al this newe corn from yer to yere,
 And out of olde bokes, in good feyth,
 Cometh al this newe science that men lere.¹⁰

In view of the fact that both writers declared themselves to the world as literary antiquarians, and that in their writings both

* *Legend of Good Women*, Prologue G, ll. 17-26, 30-4.

¹⁰ *Parliament of Fowls*, ll. 15-6, 22-5. See also *House of Fame*, ll. 647-57.

drew with unremitting ardor from "olde bokes," I venture the proposal that Deschamps' expression be interpreted not as "an Aulus Gellius in practical affairs," but as "an Aulus Gellius in his literary habits."

KARL YOUNG

Yale University

AN UNUSUAL MEANING OF "MAKE" IN CHAUCER

The following lines from Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida* (c. 1386) present a problem in translation:

- 1786 Go, litel bok, go, litel myn tragedye,
 Ther God thi makere yet, er that he dye,
 1788 So sende myght to make in som comedye.¹

However, if *make* is interpreted to mean 'match' the lines are no longer obscure. This meaning is given in the *NED*: "Make, *v.*² *Obs.* Also 6 *Sc.* maik. [*f.* Make sb.¹] *trans.* and *intr.* To mate, pair, match." Apparently overlooking Chaucer's early use of *make* in this sense, the editors of the *NED* give the following passage as the earliest example: "1463 *Bury Wills* (Camden) 23, I wille she haue . . . my flat pece enchased to make with a salt saler of sylver."

An analysis of the three lines from the *Troilus* affords evidence to permit the translation of *make* as 'match.' *Go* may be interpreted as 'go your way,' with no destination in view. This fits Professor Tatlock's explanation: "In Chaucer the 'go' is a mere farewell, without telling the book where to go."²

The word *ther* is more obscure. There is no meaning in the *NED* which entirely fits the case. However, one note is helpful (p. 281, note 5): ". . . Formerly sometimes referring to what immediately precedes or follows. . . ." In other words, *there* may serve simply as a link between two parts of a sentence. If this is the case, *ther* need not be translated, or, at any rate, may mean nothing more than 'then.'

The *NED* gives the following meaning for *yet* (p. 48, note 3c):

¹ Ed. F. N. Robinson, p. 563. Other references to Chaucer's poetry in this paper are also to Professor Robinson's edition.

² J. S. P. Tatlock, "The Epilog of Chaucer's *Troilus*," *MP*, xviii (1921), 630 n.

"With *ere*, *before*, etc. indicating the ultimate occurrence of something after an interval of time." *Yet*, then, may be translated as 'eventually,' or in this case may be omitted.

The subjunctive *sende* is a key word in the passage. "May God send . . .," points to a way out of the obscurity in these lines. The subjunctive also throws some light on the word *ther*. On several occasions Chaucer uses *there* with the subjunctive. In *The Friar's Tale* there is an example:

1561 "Heyt! now," quod he, "ther Jhesu Crist yow blesse . . ."

In *The Merchant's Tale*:

1307 This sentence, and a hundred thynges worse,

1308 Writeth this man, ther God his bones corse.

Also in the *Troilus*, III:

965 "... Kneleth now, while that yow leste,

966 There God youre hertes brynge soone at reste!"

In these passages, and in the one under discussion, *there* is used with the subjunctive in oaths or prayers. *There* seems to point to a subjunctive which follows. It is apparent that *there* need not be translated in such a case, a conclusion which we have reached earlier by means of the *NED*.

In is explained by the *NED* (p. 126, note 13): "Of means or instrumentality: now usually expressed by *with*." It gives as an example of this meaning: "1580 Lyly *Euphues* (Arb.) 445 It more delighteth them to talke of Robin hood then to shoot in his bowe."

Comedye is to be taken in its medieval sense, a narrative with a happy ending.³ Such a conception of comedy makes it impossible to interpret the passage as being a reference to *The Legend of Good Women*. Professor Root discusses the possibility of *comedye* being an allusion to *The Canterbury Tales*.⁴

Taking the lines as a whole we are able to translate the passage as follows:

Go your way, little book, go my little tragedy,
Then may God send enough power
To your author, before he dies,
To match [you, the tragedy] with a comedy.

³ For a discussion of this meaning of comedy see the *NED*, which, as an example, quotes this line from the *Troilus*.

⁴ R. K. Root, *Troilus and Criseyde* . . . (Princeton, 1926), p. 558.

This interpretation fits the idea contained in the epilogue. Chaucer has apologized (lines 1772-5) to his feminine readers for making Cressida untrue to Troilus. So it is not surprising that he should express the wish to write in the future something with a more pleasant ending, which will match the tragedy of *Troilus and Cressida*.

RICHARD C. BOYS

Baltimore, Md.

"REAVING THE DEAD" IN THE AGE OF CHIVALRY

In the *Faerie Queene*, II: 8, 15, the henchmen of Archimago undertake to despoil the sleeping Guyon of his armor and war-gear, Pyrochles declaring, "I will him reave of armes, the victors hire." In the next stanza the Palmer remonstrates, "To spoile the dead of weed is sacrilege, and doth all sins exceed." Commenting on the first passage, Professor Winstanley remarks:

In the *Iliad* the armour of a knight was quite lawfully the spoil of the victor, but the custom of chivalry was different, since it was considered disgraceful to rob the dead. In Malory's *Mort d'Arthur* he mentions, as the last act of desolation, that the 'robbers and pillers' come upon the field to 'rob and pill' the noble knights who were slain.¹

There are examples of stripping and spoiling in abundance in the heroic age. Hector divests Patroclus and Merion² of their war-gear; Ajax takes the armor from the slain Simoïsšus. In *Beowulf* much spoiling of this sort takes place: Ongendēow is pillaged by his slayer, Eofof; Eanmund by Wēohstān; and Hygelāc is stripped by his enemies, the Frisians. The borders of the Bayeux Tapestry show that this was an accepted practice in the eleventh century. The romance-writers everywhere recognize it. In all the Percival stories the young hero robs his fallen enemy, the Red Knight, of his armor, and a member of the Round Table, usually Gawain, assists him, not only in removing the vestments of the dead but also in clothing the unsophisticated youngster in them.

¹ Lilian Winstanley—*Faerie Queene*, Book II (Cambridge, 1914), p. 265.

² This is not the fate of Merion in Homer, but in Dares Phrygius (*De Excidio Trojæ Historia*, section 19).

But aside from the romances, evidence is at hand to prove that despoiling and pillaging were respectable practices among the military gentry. In Gilbert the Haye's (fl. 1456) translation of the *Arbre des Batailles* of Honore Bonet, entitled the *Buke of the Law of Armys*,³ the rule is plainly stated, "as of gudis wonnyn apon inymyes, bot any questioun, ar thairis that wynnys thame." That the Scotch took this to mean despoiling of the dead is indicated by the description of the devastation at Bannockburn in Barbour's Bruce:⁴

and quhen þai nakit spulgeit war
þat war slayne in þe battale þar,
It wes, forsuth, a great ferly
Til se sammyn so feill dede ly.

Further references to the practice are to be found in Holinshed. The Earl of Warwick is killed by one of King Edward's men, who "spoiled him to the naked skin," and the Duke of Exeter meets with a similar fate on Barnett Field. At Agincourt the English soldiers are described as having to rest after taking "the spoile of such as were slaine." A general pillaging approved by army leaders occurs after St. Albans (1455); soldiers are described as having "applied the spoile . . . not onelie stripping those that had borne armor against them, but also the townsmen and other, with whom they might meet." As late as the sixteenth century a party of English soldiers lingering too long "for pillage" were set upon by the French and slain. Nowhere do we find the chronicler mentioning this despoiling and pillaging as being under condemnation.

It is frequently objected that this robbery was the work of camp-followers and criminals, but references like the following (in which the word *Englishmen* means English soldiery) show that such classes took only what the knights had left.

Pezants spoiled the carcasses of all such things as the Englishmen had left; who took nothing but gold and silver, jewels, rich apparell, and costlie armour. But the plowmen and pezants left nothing behind, neither shirt nor clout.⁵

³ Scottish Text Society, vol. 44, p. 154.

⁴ Scottish Text Society, vol. 21, line 459 *et seqq.*

⁵ The Holinshed references are from volume 3 of the *Chronicles* (London, 1808). In the order in which the excerpts appear the page-references are 314. 314. 82. 241. 586. 82.

It appears, then, that it was entirely consistent with chivalric standards for a knight to divest a fallen enemy not only of his weapons, but also of his armor, and that wholesale pillaging by the soldiery was a practice approved by army leaders.

ESTON EVERETT ERICSON

The University of North Carolina

REVIEWS

German Literature of the Mid-Nineteenth Century in England and America as Reflected in the Journals 1840-1914. By LILLIE V. HATHAWAY. Boston: Chapman & Grimes, 1935. 341 pp.

This attractively printed volume is made up as follows: Preface, one page; Introduction, pp. 7-12; Lyric Poetry, pp. 15-32; Drama, pp. 33-58; The Novel and the Short Story, pp. 59-123; Conclusion, pp. 125-131; Chronological Lists of References to English Periodicals, pp. 133-234; American Periodicals, pp. 235-309; Index of German Authors, pp. 311-329; Lists of Periodicals, pp. 331-334; General Bibliography, pp. 335-337; Index (giving names of authors discussed in the introduction), pp. 339-341.

As indicated by the title and the table of contents, Miss Hathaway has undertaken to ascertain, from a study of some 42 British and 72 American periodicals (more of the latter being taken because so many of them were short-lived), the attitude in Great Britain and the United States toward those German writers whose major works, or a considerable number of them, appeared in print from about the late thirties to the eighties of the nineteenth century. Her reason for choosing this particular period is "more especially to focus attention upon a period of German literature which has but recently received proper appreciation both at home and abroad." The writers thus involved total 170 and include a number born in the late decades of the eighteenth century—*e. g.* Leopold Schefer, born 1784, and Fürst Pückler-Muskau, born 1785—as well as some born as late as 1850, *e. g.* "W. Heimbürg." In view of this distribution of her dates, I should be inclined to question the omission of Uhland (1787-1862) and Rückert (1788-1866), both of whom published a number of works within the period covered by the study; nor am I sure that it was wise to omit so important a figure as Heine, just because he has been treated elsewhere.

Technically Miss Hathaway's study is an admirable piece of work, and her general method might well serve as a model for any similar investigation. The detailed references drawn from the periodicals, which number 1312 for English and 928 for American journals, and which are in themselves quite informative (for example, in many cases Miss Hathaway has inserted the title of the German original of a translated work), are grouped, interpreted, and to some extent excerpted in the interesting and well-written introductory essay. Indexes facilitate the quick location of any given author's name in both references and introduction, and graphs give a vivid picture of the fluctuations of interest in German literature in both countries, so far as the number and importance of the journalistic references to it permit us to draw such conclusions. That such reasoning is not unjustified becomes evident when we note that the peaks in Miss Hathaway's graphs, showing high points in the years 1847-52 and 1867-78, are roughly parallel to those shown on the chart in my own bibliography. Evidently certain social and literary forces were at work during those periods which stimulated both the publication of translations from the German and the directing of critical attention to German literature. Broadly speaking, the two countries are alike in this respect, which tends to strengthen the above conclusion; it is however noteworthy that the total number of British references exceeds the American total until the late eighties, after which, though both countries show a rapid decline in such items, America holds a moderate lead until the end of the chosen period. If only articles of some importance are taken—as Miss Hathaway does in her Chart B—the relation shifts slightly; on this chart America forges ahead in 1866, outstrips Britain very notably for some four years, but is then decisively beaten from 1875 on; the British line does not again drop below the American one until about 1894, after which, to be sure, America remains ahead to the end, showing a marked spurt of interest from about 1903 to 1908. When the war broke out in 1914, the American line was already falling sharply, and it may be assumed that it approached zero in the following years.

The question as to what is "literature" is not purely academic when it comes to a study like this, but is bound to determine the lines of inclusion and exclusion; I struggled with the problem in making my own bibliography, and ultimately found that I could not restrict myself merely to the three standard categories which determine the three sections of Miss Hathaway's introduction. As a matter of fact, she does not quite keep within this limitation either, including in the chapter on the novel books of travel. It would be interesting to know whether some other types of writing that are, so to speak, tangent to imaginative literature would have affected the final result if they had been included. I think of such

genres as biography, general history, art history and appreciation, essays and popular philosophy, correspondence, and the like.

Within the self-imposed limits of Miss Hathaway's study, one is impressed, as she herself is, by the relatively disproportionate attention paid to mediocre writers, some of whom (*e. g.* Louise Mühlbach) are virtually unknown in Germany, while novelists like Gerstäcker, Hackländer, Hahn-Hahn, Marlitt, Werner, Heimbürg, Ebers, and others, once popular, are now little regarded in Germany. And on the other hand, one notes with regret the neglect of such men of genius as Hebbel, Grillparzer, Ludwig, Meyer, Storm, and Anzengruber, recognizing however, as Miss Hathaway points out, that in some cases they were no less ignored at home than abroad.

Miss Hathaway's study, which constitutes a significant addition to the series of doctoral dissertations and other investigations dealing with Anglo-German literary relations produced at Wisconsin under the direction of A. R. Hohlfeld or by those who have worked with him, whets one's appetite for more of the same type of thing, and leads one to hope that the various similar studies now under way may soon become available in print. A great deal of spadework has already been done in this field, and it would be an admirable thing if all the rough cultivation could soon be finished, so that Professor Hohlfeld might undertake the landscaping—to continue the figure—that no other hand is so competent to carry to completion.

BAYARD Q. MORGAN

Stanford University

Deutsche Literatur. Sammlung literarischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmäler in Entwicklungsreihen. Reihe "Politische Dichtung." Leipzig: Ph. Reclam. (1) Vol. 8. *Deutsche Dichtung im Weltkrieg 1914-1918.* Edited by Dr. ERNST VOLKMANN. (2) Vol. 2. *Fremdherrschaft und Befreiung 1795-1815.* Edited by Dr. ROBERT F. ARNOLD. (3) Vol. 7. *Im Neuen Reich 1871-1914.* Edited by Dr. HELENE ADOLF.

The anthology *Deutsche Dichtung im Weltkrieg* is intended to demonstrate *welche Züge im Bilde des Weltkrieges . . . den Deutschen im Dritten Reich wesentlich erschienen sind.* Accordingly, we are dealing not with a collection compiled along scientific lines, but with a book of devotion, characterized by a certain *Weltanschauung*. Its final and highest ideal is—to express it in the words of the editor Volkmann—*der heldisch geschaute Tatmensch.*

Consequently, the entire emphasis, in the introduction as well as

in the selection of the poems, is placed on the initial period of the war. The emotional surge, the communal spirit, the general re-orientation in the service of the war, are presented in great detail. The sympathy of the editor ceases, however, where the development in the second part of the war is concerned. *Von den kriegsbejahenden Dichtern haben die wenigsten durchgehalten bis ans Ende*, is the reproachful criticism. Volkmann directs his passionate and vindictive polemics against those who 'changed their views'—that is what he calls the growing consciousness of the senselessness of the war—and above all against those who became active opponents of the war. They are for him foreign Jewish traitors, and their change of attitude is due to a cowardly fear of military service, to a psychopathic nervous weakness. This is the characterization given in the introduction, but this whole group of poets is not represented in the selection of poems. (*Es wäre*) *heute nicht angebracht, auch die Gruppe der Kriegsgegner . . . zu Worte kommen zu lassen*. All the combatants and all the war-dead are enlisted on the side of the nationalistic martial spirit. Even where it must be admitted that the men at the front felt a solidarity across the trench lines, this concession is immediately modified by the assertion that it had nothing to do with the international fraternization of the proletariat. The fact that the war was the first occasion in modern times when the poems of workers spoke to the whole German people, is not brought out in proportion to its importance. Had the work of these poets represented not been restricted to a minimum, the human element, the cry of horror at the war, of longing for peace, would have drowned out the heroic motif. While the human truth of German suffering is silenced or slandered, for the sake of a heroic idealization, the opportunity is missed to emphasize the factors that united all the nations in the crushing experience of the war, instead of those dividing them.

A truer impression, by far, of the poetic formulation given to the national experience of the war years, than can be gained from Mr. Volkmann's biased anthology, would result from the examination of the complete edition of any poet of the time, such as, for example, the student Walter Hoerich, who fell at the age of twenty-one. Here, too, can be found the heroic enthusiasm, the fiery courage of the beginning. But here is the expression, as well, of the profound ordeal of the war-weary man. As early as the autumn of 1915, he wrote his *Abschied* on the occasion of a furlough, which contains the deeply human lines:

*O Vaterland, du bietest leuchtenden Ruhm—
Aber was soll einem Leichnam die Krone von Heldentum?
Und wer nur eines Tages Sonne getrunken hat,
Der schaudert, sinnlos zu sterben wie ein verwehtes Blatt.*

Such words come from the depths of a people steeped in suffering and need, and are hardly expressions of cowardice and "back-

sliding." What thousands among the fighting men of all the nations who were not blinded by undue exaltation felt, is expressed in this poem by words such as:

*Aber ich will nicht wägen Gewinn und Verlust,
Ich will eine Stimme bekennen, die in mir redet: Du musst.*

For this poet and hero, also one of those who fell, Volkmann had no space, although many pages are filled with poor and unknown poems of men who came to prominence in the present government.

Thus the anthology does not give an adequate picture of war-poetry. It is extremely unfortunate that it belongs to a collection destined to represent German literature for a long time to come and intended to supersede *Kürschner's Nationalliteratur*. The situation is particularly deplorable, since it is only natural that the literary products of those years of combat are, even today, hardly known outside of Germany.

The volume *Fremdherrschaft und Befreiung, 1795-1815*, edited by F. Arnold, former general editor of this series, shows, on the contrary, what a representative collection like this one should be. A short and clear introduction characterizes the time and its problems, the connections between history and poetry. Various remarks of the introduction as well as many less known poems or passages in prose which he selected, suggest a lively flow of moods and reactions, behind the conventional picture of the period in question. The material is divided in four chapters: *Reichsuntergang—Rheinbündische Zeit—Erhebung—Befreiung*.

It is, perhaps, not strange that the volume *Im Neuen Reich, 1871-1914*, edited by Helene Adolf, does not give the same impression of clarity and completeness. One reason for this, certainly, is the character of this particular period; a second reason, undoubtedly, is the fact that this period is still too near to be elucidated by research—a convincing illustration of what Thomas Mann in the *Zauberberg* has said about the *märchenhaften Vergangenheitscharakter* of the pre-war time. Even granted this, we cannot help feeling that the editor in her introduction should have contributed something new to her subject. Instead, she indulges in today's baroque fashion of literary criticism: to make use of disparate points of views or methods of interpretation, beclouding incongruities by a flowery diction. When the attempt is made at an interpretation of a period, what is the meaning of such statements as *Die wirtschaftliche Lage bildet halb Erklärung, halb Folie der kulturellen Entwicklung*. Or: *So finden sich Imperialismus und Einsicht in die Lage, obwohl ihren Forderungen nach entgegengesetzt, doch oft im selben Dichter vereinigt, weil sie derselben Wurzel, der Vaterlandsliebe, entsprossen sind . . . Schliesslich war die den Dichtern anvertraute Botschaft, wie an das Nacheinander der Kunstrichtungen so an das Nebeneinander der Parteien aufgeteilt*. Such

sentences, and these are not the only ones, indicate a fundamental lack in clarity of vision. After this introduction, the reader does not feel like trusting the documentary value of the selected poems, although the volume certainly contains valuable and interesting material. It is arranged in five chapters: *Kulturkampf und Gründerjahre—Soziale und nationale Nöte—Die neuen Richtungen, der neue Herr—Weltpolitik und Innerlichkeit—Abrechnung und Vorgefühl.*

WM. R. GAEDE

Brooklyn College

Lessing's Relation to the English Language and Literature. By CURTIS C. D. VAIL. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. Pp. vi + 220. \$3.00.

Mr. Vail's purpose is "to investigate so far as the sources permit the steps by which Lessing obtained a mastery over English and to measure the degree of his knowledge, and to examine the infiltration of English material into his critical ideas and its effect on his dramatic production" (4). Two Parts, devoted respectively to language and literature, are followed by a Conclusion: "The Profile of Lessing's English Interest." A bibliography and an adequate index complete the well-printed volume.

The "method of procedure" is for each Part chronological; but in Part II chapters on criticism and on composition alternate, with consequent overlapping and some confusion as to dates and "periods." From the evidence, neither progressive "mastery" nor variable "infiltration" can be precisely determined for successive years. It is plain, however, that mid-way in the 'fifties Lessing had acquired an intimate acquaintance with the English language and considerable knowledge of English literature—an ampler knowledge certainly than extant notes or manifest "borrowings" now reveal. His recorded judgments of English works, being occasional, have to be evaluated according to the circumstances of the pronouncement, the dominant interest at the moment, and such right to self-reliance as information, experience, and maturity can give. Though Mr. Vail is mindful of these considerations and, when speaking of England, does not forget France, he appears not always to realize that at every utterance on a subject, Lessing was no more bound than Matthew Arnold to speak his full mind.

Part I, then, shows Lessing making progress. His earliest translations are good; the later ones are justly appraised as excellent, albeit often in extravagant terms. *Ein Herr hatte einen Schosshund, dem er sehr gewogen war* is hardly an "eloquent circumlocution" (58) for "A gentleman had a favourite spaniel." The principal value of this Part attaches to the numerous ex-

amples, often arranged in parallel columns. It was worth the time and trouble to make this demonstration.

Part II, equally comprehensive, fully documented, and in most matters accurate, is better for the presentation than the interpretation of evidence. Demonstration here is harder, the calculation of probabilities less certain, the point to be proved more elusive; and it is sometimes difficult to see the forest for the trees. Not only is there in Mr. Vail's treatment a disturbing lack of verbal precision and some mixing of metaphors—he allows himself in translating Lessing sundry short cuts and approximations which are particularly unfortunate. For example: "the French don't care to read any prose tragedies at all." Lessing adds vaguely enough: "For myself I cannot give any similar reason as valid but have to be content with giving the tragedy from the French abstract or not at all." His statement is, perhaps intentionally, so obscure" etc. (123). What Lessing wrote was: . . . *weil die Franzosen keine prosaische Trauerspiele lesen mögen. Ich kann keine ähnliche Ursache für mich geltend machen, sondern muss mich lediglich mit der Notwendigkeit entschuldigen, meinen Lesern eine so angenehme Neuigkeit entweder gar nicht, oder durch die Vermittelung des französischen Übersetzers mitzuteilen*"—this is neither vague nor obscure. We wonder what sort of literary craftsman Mr. Vail conceives Lessing to have been. Lessing is "an essentially creative personality" (203); yet there are "materials and patterns from other literatures which played their part in shaping the laboratory processes of his genius" (6). "The fragment [of *Alcibiades*] cannot give us any insight into Lessing's practice in tragedy at this time. . . . It is interesting, however, in that we may observe in it the poet in his workshop at this period. The numerous sources serve merely as the mortar with which he covered his own inner structural framework, his original idea. It is a necessary conclusion that the mortar must take the shape of the framework. . . . *Minna* . . . seems to have been constructed in a similar manner" (159).

Mr. Vail sees Lessing enter, with *Emilia Galotti*, "the realm of the classic tragedy, and, leaning on an English model, he attains a simplicity that is not French, but Greek" (186). Similarly, Lessing declared that it is *gewiss, dass auch Thomson nicht allein, wie ich es nennen möchte, französisch, sondern griechisch regelmässig ist . . . Seine "Sophonisbe" ist von einer Simplizität, mit der sich selten, oder nie, ein französischer Dichter begnügt hat*. I suspect there is more in A. M. Wagner's diagnosis of this *grosse Erlebnis Lessings*—which Mr. Vail finds "scarcely tenable" (142)—than in what Mr. Vail now tells us. "What in the last analysis is Lessing's entire critical reform, or the methodology of Rationalism in general for that matter, but a progression from one authority to another in the quest of an absolute authority!" (115).

Well, "we discover that he found [ca. 1760] the beginnings of a new methodology, not in a foreign pattern, but in the metaphysical idea that we derive our rules from the works of nature" (209). In the *Dramaturgie* "it is always Shakespeare, however, the genius, to whom Lessing turns as a textbook, drawn from nature, on the drama and even on acting" (180).

Mr. Vail set himself a formidable task, prosecuted it diligently, and attained one of his objects. The other was perhaps essentially unattainable. Yet in Part II there are useful observations, obscured though they are by verbiage.

W. G. HOWARD

Harvard University

Kleist's Werke. Zweite Auflage. Nach der von Georg Schmidt, Reinhold Steig und Georg Minde-Pouet besorgten Ausgabe neu durchgesehen und erweitert von GEORG MINDE-POUET. Vols. I-II. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut. [1936]. Pp. 312 and 317.

Of the new eight-volume edition of Heinrich von Kleist's works, prepared by Professor Georg Minde-Pouet, the first two volumes have appeared. These contain a critical biography, an introduction to the letters and the letters.

The biography, based on the first edition of 1904-1905, has been amplified and corrected with due consideration of the contents of new letters and the large amount of research on Kleist during the interim. Some of the changes consist in the addition of the given names of numerous personages, the correction of official titles, the modification of diction in the interest of greater objectivity or added precision, the correction of dates, and slight emendations. Cognizance has been taken of the dispute over the date of Kleist's birth, the staging of *Die Familie Schroffenstein* during the author's lifetime, various efforts to secure his liberation from imprisonment at Chalons-sur-Marne, the presentation of the first number of his journal *Phöbus* to the Emperor of Austria, his activity in Austria in 1809, new details about his death, the gradual growth of interest in his works, and his significance for the Germany of to-day. Minde-Pouet has written with admirable restraint, directness and clarity. Within the limits of sixty pages he has given a sound critical evaluation of Kleist and a succinct, factual biography free from the sensational rumor-mongering which has marred much of the writing on the author's life and character.

The introduction to Kleist's letters has likewise been modified. Explanations, which were given as footnotes in the first edition, are to be included in the eighth volume with all notes and variants. The result is a handsomer type page, but it will entail the

handling of an additional volume. Moreover, the annotations will not be available until the last volume appears. A single index of names of places and of persons replaces the former separate indexes. The revised number of letters is 220 as compared with 195 in the first edition.

Some letters have been re-dated, errors in the designation of recipients have been corrected, hitherto unknown addressees have been discovered, the four autographs and the eccentric letter to Adolfine Henriette Vogel have been omitted, and numerous excellent photographic illustrations have been added. A new letter (II, 41) establishes the correct date of Kleist's arrival in Paris as July 3, 1801. Important re-arrangements and additions are to be found in the later letters to Marie von Kleist. A number of the new letters are to Adolphine von Werdeck, Karl Freiherr von Stein zum Altenstein, Iffland, Eduard Prinz von Lichnowsky, Karl August Freiherr von Hardenberg, Wilhelm Prinz von Preussen and Ulrike von Kleist.

Several additional letters to Karl Freiherr von Stein zum Altenstein give further evidence of the minister's helpfulness to Kleist in the matter of a civil appointment, and reveal the freedom with which the latter disclosed his ill-health, despondence, diffidence, incapacity for sustained effort, and lack of self-confidence to his kindly, distinguished superior. A letter of July 28 and 29, 1801, to Adolphine von Werdeck is valuable in part because of the frank characterization of Ulrike which is given in greater detail than previously. Another letter of November 29, 1801, to the same friend reveals Kleist's heightened interest in paintings, and refers to the conflict in art between reason and creative imagination. Kleist's tendency to repeat passages in several letters is again in evidence. A communication of January 1, 1809, to Freiherr von Stein zum Altenstein is significant because it contains an estimate and a recommendation of Kleist's associate Adam Müller. His difficulties with narrow censorship in the editing of the *Berliner Abendblätter* and the chicanery of Chancellor von Hardenberg are reviewed with added details in an important letter to Prince William of Prussia whom he asked for intervention.

The proof-reading has been done with the meticulous thoroughness so characteristic of Professor Minde-Pouet. Strange to say, however, the title-pages of both volumes list Georg Schmidt rather than Erich Schmidt as one of the editors of the first edition. One letter (I, 91) bears the signature K. H. instead of the frequent H. K.

This new edition adds much more detailed information than can be summarized in a brief review; it includes important corrections, and renders available numerous letters, some of which had been printed in publications which are not readily accessible. It is an achievement based on long, arduous, careful research by Professor Minde-Pouet.

JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL

Wesleyan University

Goethe in Umwelt und Folgezeit. Gesammelte Studien. Von Dr. MARTIN SOMMERFELD. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij N. V. 1935. 281 pp. Fl. 5.—

Die vom Verfasser hier als *Gesammelte Studien* vorgelegten Aufsätze sind untereinander in Idee und Methode so stark verbunden, daß auch der Haupttitel *Goethe in Umwelt und Folgezeit* von dieser Einheit nur ein bescheidenes Bild gibt. Es handelt sich in ihnen um das echt Goethische Problem, das der Dichter schon 1775 in seiner *Zugabe* zu Lavaters *Physiognomischen Fragmenten* ausspricht, und um das (unausgesprochen) diese acht Aufsätze zu kreisen scheinen: „Nur getrost, was den Menschen umgibt, wirkt nicht allein auf ihn, er wirkt auch wieder zurück auf selbiges, und indem er sich modifizieren läßt, modifiziert er wieder rings um sich her. . . . Die Natur bildet den Menschen, er bildet sich um, und diese Umbildung ist doch wieder natürlich; er, der sich in die große, weite Welt gesetzt sieht, umzäunt, ummauert sich eine kleine drein und staffiert sie aus nach seinem Bilde.“ (DjG. V 322)

Der erste Aufsatz kontrastiert die *Confessions* mit *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. Der Außenseiter Rousseau analysiert seine Fähigkeiten und Fertigkeiten und sieht in seiner Entwicklung eine Entwertung natürlicher Anlagen zum künstlichen Gesellschaftsmenschen; Goethe stellt dieser Anklageschrift gegenüber das versöhnende Bild der organischen Entwicklung eines Naturgebildes, typisch in seiner Art, normal in seiner Ganzheit, sich vollendend im Geben und Nehmen. Wandlung an und in dieser Welt der sozialen Gegebenheiten untersucht der zweite Aufsatz, *Goethe und sein Publikum*, ein Problem, das der dritte, *Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz und Goethes Werther*, zur Einzeluntersuchung vertieft, die sowohl das Wesen beider Dichter wie ihre Schaffensform wechselseitig erhellt. Lenz selbst, mit dem Herzen in Werthers, mit dem Kopfe in St. Preux' Nähe, in ewiger Selbstanalyse und nie ausgetragenen Zwiespaß zwischen rationalem und irrationalem Wesen, weist auf Rousseau zurück.

Der fünfte Aufsatz bildet die eigentliche Mitte des Buches, und indem er den *Weg zur Klassik in Goethes Schriften zur Kunst und Literatur* nachzeichnet, weist er darauf hin, wie stark der junge Goethe vor dem Sturm und Drang von der Kunstlehre des Klassizismus durchdrungen war und durch Eingliederung in eine feste Tradition gefeit gegen das Zerfließen in Gefühlsästhetik. Goethes Reaktion gegen die Regel, die bei aller Polemik gegen einengende Formeln dem Genie schließlich doch die innere Form zuspricht, ließe sich übrigens seiner Stellung den eignen Werken dieser Zeit gegenüber vergleichen, deren einseitige Helden das Korrektiv und die Reservatio des Gesunden und Tüchtigen im Wesen ihres Schöpfers verlangen. So ist Revolution hier eigentlich nur Reaktion oder, wie Sommerfeld sagt, „nicht sowohl negative Wendung gegen

ein Bestehendes sondern vielmehr positive Neu-Fundamentierung." Andererseits hat man dann bei der bis zum Schulmeisterlichen gehenden Betonung der Regel in Goethes Spätzeit wiederum das Gefühl, daß auch sie mit der Reservatio des Genies aufzufassen ist. Dieser Ausgleich wird in Sommerfelds Abhandlung klar genug, und es ist wohlthuend, einmal ein tapferes Wort für die Tradition des Klassizismus zu finden, wo sonst nur die Ablehnung, die mit Lessing einsetzt, von jeder Generation übertrumpft wird.

Gerahmt ist dieser Aufsatz von zwei einander entsprechenden: der eine zeigt das theatralische Kindheitserbe des Dichters, das oft unterschätzt wird; der andre nimmt Stellung zu lyrischem Stofferbe und setzt in vorbildlicher Analyse von Beispiel und Gegenbeispiel Goethische Gedichte in Relief, nicht zum Zwecke der Entwertung geringerer Vorläufer und Nachfolger, sondern zur Verdeutlichung ihrer Eigenart, wie sie sich in Stil und Gestaltung verrät.

Mit dem Überblick über *Die dichterische Autobiographie von Goethe bis Nietzsche* und dem Bericht über *Die Aufnahme von Goethes Wahlverwandschaften im 19. Jahrhundert* schließt sich der Kreis. Auch hier finden wir die wechselseitige Erhellung Goethes und seiner Nachfahren oder seines Publikums, erzielt durch Einzelanalyse und literarische Ortsbestimmung, wie sie das ganze Buch charakterisiert. Sicher und einleuchtend in der Methode, subtil und streng im Gedanken, klar und gepflegt in der Form, empfiehlt es sich auch äußerlich durch ein würdiges Gewand. Möge sich bald der erwartete zweite Band dem ersten gesellen.

ERNST FEISE

Schillers Urbilder. Von HERMAN PONGS. Stuttgart: I. B. Metzler, 1935. Pp. 52.

Professor Pongs' short but very profound book offers a new approach to Schiller in so far as the author reveals the primal images as the determinants of Schiller's main characters. These characters are not to be conceived as independent, isolated figures but as deeply rooted in their particular basis of existence, their "Existenzgrund." This is already apparent in Schiller's first drama. Its hero, Karl Moor, can be considered a man within a group, "ein Mensch der Gruppe," and he is determined in his actions by the paternal spirit, the "Vatergeist." This primal image which, in its widest sense, includes the ruler of a people as well as the people for whom the ruler is a father, dominates almost all of Schiller's works. Influenced by the counter-image of the tyrannical ruler Schiller deviated in *Fiesko* "from the primal image which the paternal spirit had developed in him." (14) But in *Don Carlos* the ideal of a king is conceived as a father, and the people, although still

in the background, suggest for the first time the "existential basis in which the ideal of freedom gains its reality." (18) Wallenstein too cannot be imagined without the traces of a father, and his deep metaphysical insecurity and final downfall depend upon the fact that he lacks "close contact with the most natural of communal bodies, the people." (26) In him characteristic features of Fiesko and Posa, "Urbildzüge des dämonischen Politikers," reappear in monumental proportions. *Maria Stuart* is still more deeply rooted in the elemental sphere. This time two women rule in the political world, that is to say, in the world of the paternal spirit, and they too are primal images of "dämonische Naturen." (28) In *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, for the first time, both a living people and the ideal of a paternal ruler appear as the existential basis of the heroine and as the determinants of her actions, while in *Wilhelm Tell* a living people itself is the active element with the hero in the center as the embodiment of the paternal spirit of his people. (35) *Demetrius* finally reveals the elemental tension between the individualities of two peoples, the Poles and the Russians. At the end Professor Pongs considers briefly the rôle of the women in Schiller's dramas.

It is a very unified picture which Professor Pongs presents here and his points are well proved. His book is furthermore significant as an indication of a new trend in German literary research, the "existenzielle Richtung," which is directly or indirectly influenced by the contemporary "Existenzphilosophie" of Jaspers and Heidegger and supplements the "geisteswissenschaftliche Richtung" advocated by Dilthey. It may seem, however, that Professor Pongs' intention to refute those critics who had called Schiller an abstract philosophical poet and rational moralist misled him to occasional overstatements with regard to the dependence of Schiller's dramatic heroes. For "Existenz" or actualization of "Existenz" in Jaspers' terminology depends on the continuous tension between and interrelation of the individual and the world, both of them autonomous forces which are, at the same time, inseparably bound up with one another. In this respect the moral problems of freedom and of guilt are presented by Schiller from both sides, that is to say, in their existential significance. The individual is not free in the sense that he is entirely independent; he possesses, however, freedom of will and is therefore as a moral being alone responsible for his deeds. This polarity of existence could have been emphasized still more strongly than Professor Pongs does it.

HANS JAEGER

Princeton University

Un Poète romantique allemand: Ludwig Tieck (1773-1853). Par ROBERT MINDER. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1936. Pp. viii, 516. Fr. 60. (Pubs. . . Univ. de Strasbourg, 72.)

A doctoral thesis of 525 large octavo pages on an important author, which presents neither a cursory and superficial summary or rehashing of facts well known, nor a specialized investigation of certain abstruse and secondary phases of that writer's work, but rather a detailed, carefully reasoned and independent analysis of the man and his whole literary production, extending over the most significant fifty years of German literature, may indeed be called a novelty. Dr. Minder, now of the University of Nancy, has devoted many years of careful research and thought to this study. He may well be proud of the result.

After a preface in which the purpose and method of the work are explained—it is not in any sense a biography or a biographical study, but an attempt to resolve the component parts of Tieck's character as well as his works into their elements and to show the underlying forces, motives and ideas thereof—we are given a very important introduction, or prolog, on the great themes of Tieck's intimate experience and of his literary production. The principal motifs of his own experience, which determine his character, are found in his constant recollection of a "Paradise," his perception of a "Chaos," and his delight in play or make-believe. His works fall just as significantly into two classes, those of "mystification," and those of "participation," while four great leading themes pervade them, which Minder succinctly characterizes by the names of four of Tieck's typical protagonists: Fortunat, Lovell, Bertha (in the tale *Der blonde Eckbert*) and Genoveva. This classification may no doubt be criticised as too schematic and simple, and even too incomplete, for so complex and multifarious a man as Tieck, but it serves the purpose by and large.

The body of the book is divided into two large parts, the first being on the forms, motifs and evolution of Tieck's works, the second on the formation and aspects of his emotional life (we thus translate the French word *sensibilité*) and ideology. Here all is as perspicuous and systematic as only the Gallic temperament can make it. But for that it does not suffer from lack of thorough documentation, either. The three chapters of the first part deal with a) the lyric output, b) the drama, and c) the prose works, these being again subdivided into four classes (early novels, fantastic tales, *Sternbald* as the Romantic novel *par excellence*, and the later Dresden *Novellen* as examples of *réalisme modéré*). The second part of the book is far bulkier. It is divided into thirteen chapters, which deal with such topics as Tieck's "synesthetic" temperament, the part which the family and family relationships played in his life, his love affairs and friends, his attitude toward nature, his political, social, philosophical, religious and esthetic

ideals, his reaction to music and painting, and his significant position as a critic of the theatre and of literature.

An important epilog of twenty pages sums up the author's conclusions. We quote (pp. 450-451): "Tieck was never the great lord of letters that he sometimes dreamed he was. He did not rediscover the art of Shakespeare, Cervantes and Goethe, an art which was to be the sum total expression of a nation and a people. Very few of his works are truly perfect. Writers much more limited in their inspiration, like Eichendorff or Mörike, almost instinctively achieved that equilibrium between reality and poetry to which Tieck devoted so much thought. If ambition, confusion of mind, a ridiculous exaggeration or ignorance of his capabilities had led the poet to a desire to follow models which were too great, and to disown the perfect dandy which to some extent he might have become, his efforts would be quite forgotten today, just like those of Wilhelm Jordan or of any of the grandiloquent failures of any period. But the universal and indeed quite personal culture of Tieck, his accurate instinct for true as well as misunderstood values, his fine appreciation for the technical aspects of art, his belief in the reality of Mystery, his sincerity and charm—all these cause his noble desire for great art and his craving for synthesis to retain an active value to this very day, quite apart from the merits of any of his writings."

That Dr. Minder throws much light on hitherto neglected aspects of Tieck goes without saying. His association of Tieckean tendencies with the more modern Freudian school, the influences of Karl Philipp Moritz's "psycho-physiology" and the analysis of Tieck's works according to motifs are but a few illustrations.

The forty-page bibliography which concludes the work is arranged topically and will prove of inestimable value to any future student of Romanticism in general or of Tieck in particular. It overlooks nothing worth-while. American scholarship, too, comes in for its full measure of appreciation—a statement which can not always be made of literary studies emanating from Europe. Errors and omissions in connection with Tieck's relation to France (p. 488) will be corrected in a forthcoming article on which Dr. Minder and the present reviewer are collaborating. In this field it is worth while calling attention to the apparent affinity of Tieck and the *surréalistes* of 1925. Four unusual likenesses of the German Romanticist enhance the value and attractiveness of the book.

Readers of Dr. Minder's thesis who are also familiar with the present writer's biography of Tieck, *Ludwig Tieck, the German Romanticist* (Princeton University Press, 1935), which came out about six months earlier, will probably note that while these two studies follow widely divergent modes of approach and have quite different purposes, their conclusions are strikingly similar. Although Dr. Minder and the writer have been in rather close

touch for some years and have even exchanged materials and views, this similarity is anything but pre-arranged. Even had this been desired, the work of both was too far advanced at the time they came in contact to permit any such eventuality. It is due solely to the fact that two investigators working in the same field and using in great part the same evidence have arrived at almost identical results. Unfortunately it was not possible, however, to give Dr. Minder access to the collection of unpublished letters, gathered from numerous sources, which the reviewer hopes soon to publish in collaboration with Professor Robert Herndon Fife and Dr. Percy Matenko.

In summary it may be said that Tieck is now no longer one of the major enigmas of German literature, as he had been for so many years. The facts and the deductions therefrom have at last been laid open. Later scholars may present new interpretations. But that applies not only to Tieck but to any author, and rightly so.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL

University of Cincinnati

Krisenjahre der Frühromantik. Briefe aus dem Schlegelkreis herausgegeben von JOSEPH KÖRNER. Erster Band. Brünn, Wien, Leipzig: Verlag Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1936. Pp. xxiv + 670 (two additional volumes to appear in 1937). Price of set: 50 Marks.

Readers of this journal who have been following the present reviewer's notices of previous works by Professor Körner of the German University of Prague, especially his *Die Brüder Schlegel, Briefe aus frühen und späten Tagen der deutschen Romantik* (1926), *Briefe von und an A. W. Schlegel* (1930), and *Friedrich Schlegels neue philosophische Schriften* (1935), have undoubtedly been looking forward with interest to the appearance of this new work, for it puts the finishing touch upon the grand edifice which Körner has been patiently and laboriously constructing for the past twenty years. It presents, chiefly, the bulk of that part of the A. W. Schlegel-Nachlass which for over one hundred years reposed in Mme de Staël's Coppet castle, until it was discovered by Körner in August, 1929. Other letters from various sources have been added thereto.

To be sure, the present volume contains only one-third of the material to be presented in this work as a whole. During the course of the present year the second volume, with some three hundred additional letters, and the third, with an exhaustive commentary, will make their appearance. The present bulky

volume of nearly seven hundred pages contains 320 letters beginning with 1791 and running chronologically through 1808. But by far the great majority are from the quinquennium between 1804 and 1808 and are written either by or to A. W. Schlegel. The chief correspondents, beside the protagonist himself, are Ludwig Tieck's sister Sophie, Friedrich Schlegel, Dorothea Mendelssohn-Schlegel, Schelling, Georg Reimer, the Fouqués, Mme de Staël and August Staël. Others are Arnim, Bernhardt, Brockhaus, Cotta, Hülsen, Jacobi, Schleiermacher and Zacharias Werner, to mention but a few.

Our factual knowledge of the development of the so-called Jena Romanticists between 1790 and 1800 has been pretty full for some time, thanks to various sources. We have also had sufficient light thrown upon the Younger Romanticists of a decade later. But the decade between 1800 and 1810 had been more or less left in darkness. Now, thanks to Körner, this last veil has been lifted, and a flood of light is shed upon it. It would take us too far afield to note all the new facts and fascinating details which greet us in Körner's pages. We can indicate but a few in this place. For instance, the estrangement of the two Schlegel brothers in 1801, caused by Caroline, did not last as long as has been thought, although their relations never became hearty again. Friedrich did not even tell his brother of his conversion in 1808. This conversion, as we see again, was thoroughly sincere. Friedrich's close relations with Mme de Staël are revealed for the first time.

August Wilhelm's relations with Tieck's sister Sophie come to light in all their bald ugliness.¹ Her letters, especially the clandestine ones, often read like chapters of a salacious novel. His are no less interesting and characteristic. His poem to her shortly before the birth of her son Felix, written in the erroneous belief that he is the real father (actually the father was not Sophie's husband Bernhardt, but von Knorring!), is a literary curiosity of the first water. We now know that the chief reason for August Wilhelm's leaving Germany in 1804 and for following Mme de Staël to her Swiss banishment was his disappointment in love by Sophie. Moreover, we see that Mme de Staël proved a worthy substitute for Tieck's sister.

It becomes clear also that August Wilhelm was intellectually always dependent upon his brother Friedrich and that August Wilhelm and Friedrich Tieck, the artist-brother of Ludwig, were close friends. We learn the real reasons for Friedrich Schlegel's removal to Vienna and the details of his difficulties there. We become better acquainted with the extremely kindly nature of Dorothea Mendelssohn-Schlegel and find to our surprise that

¹ The main facts were related by the reviewer in his *Ludwig Tieck, the German Romanticist*, Princeton, 1935, pp. 157, 172, 179, 185 etc. Professor Körner had kindly placed these data at the writer's disposal four years before the publication of *Krisenjahre*.

August Wilhelm did not break with Schelling and Caroline even after his divorce from Caroline and her marriage to Schelling. Finally we get an insight into Friedrich Schlegel's opinions of the younger Romanticists, Arnim, Brentano, Fouqué and Zacharias Werner.

The eight full-page half-tones are excellent and valuable because they were unknown to our generation. The fifteen-page introduction by Körner gives us the necessary background. In heartily recommending the work to all college and university libraries and to scholars interested in German Romanticism, we cannot refrain from quoting the last paragraph of this introduction:

Mit dem Coppeter Fund ist das grosse Leck unseres Quellenvorrats zur Geschichte der deutschen Romantik nun endlich geschlossen; die aus zahlreichen anderen Fundstellen erbrachten Zutaten füllen die kleineren Lücken, die in den bisherigen Publikationen noch bestanden hatten. Im grossen wie im kleinen darf ich dieses Werk daher als abschliessend bezeichnen, sowohl hinsichtlich meiner eignen älteren Briefeditionen wie in bezug auf die intimen Dokumente des Schlegelkreises überhaupt. Dessen Art und Bedeutung, seine wandlungsreiche Geschichte in Früh-, Hoch- und Spätromantik liegt nun mit aller wünschbaren Klarheit zutage.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL

University of Cincinnati

Luise Hensel als Dichterin. Von Dr. FRANK SPIECKER. Evanston, Northwestern University Studies in the Humanities, No. 3, and Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1936. Pp. 207.

The story of the life of Luise Hensel (1798-1876), that remarkably precocious maladjusted introvert and convert who deserves a place among the lesser lights of the second-generation Romanticists, has been told before—by Reinkens (1877), Bartscher (1882), Binder (1885) and others. Dr. Frank Spiecker of Northwestern University did not wish to write another biography of her. To be sure, he has once more narrated briefly the sad tale of her struggles, shedding new light here and there with the help of the 'Nachlass' in Munich. But his chief aim, which he carries out with some success, was to present a "psychological study" of her as a poet on the basis of the unpublished material, and to publish a sheaf of her hitherto unknown poems.

Dr. Spiecker himself admits in his epilog (p. 145) that he has not changed the contours of the picture; only the background has come out in darker colors. The reasons for her conversion to the Catholic faith and for her comparative silence and lack of development as a poet after passing her teens, and the various factors leading to her peculiar melancholia are discussed at length. As the

author depicts her, Luise Hensel bears a striking resemblance to that host of woman-converts which the history of German Romanticism records—gentle souls and misfits like Marie Alberti or Dorothea Tieck, who hovered all their lives between asceticism and worldly love. One thing is certain. No contemporary of Luise Hensel can compare with her in the field of simple, naïve, unaffected lyrics of the religious type. But the question to what extent she was really a Romanticist and to what extent a late-born follower of Gellert's rococo manner is not answered.

The style of the book seems suited to the subject. Sentimental phrases like "der gute Vater" (p. 20), "der innigstgeliebte Bruder" (38), "Sonnenschein und Tränentau" (129), "der Schnitter Tod" (22), "der Todesengel" (128 and 143), and inconsistencies like "Conversion" (5) and "Konversion" (104) are too frequent. The convenient "derselbe" is overworked, and the auxiliary of the perfect tenses in dependent clauses is usually omitted. Footnotes on well-known figures of Romanticism are needlessly full (cf. pp. 44 and 45). Four times we are told that the poet was born in Linum (p. 11, p. 15 twice, and p. 122 note 68).

A frontispiece giving her brother Wilhelm's drawing of Luise, and five facsimiles of poems and letters in manuscript adorn the volume.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL

University of Cincinnati

Simon Roths Fremdwörterbuch herausgegeben von EMIL ÖHMANN
[Mémoires de la Société néo-philologique de Helsingfors XI,
1936, pp. 225-370].

Simon Roth's *Teutscher Dictionarius* is not only one of the most important, but also one of the rarest German dictionaries of the sixteenth century, only three copies each of the first edition (1571) and of the second edition (1572) being known. The author, as Öhmann has established with approximate certainty, is identical with the Simon Roth whose history is given in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* XXIX, 340, a fact that had not been suspected previously. Roth was a native of Styria, but lived in Bavaria, at Neu-Ötting on the Inn, not far from the Austrian border.

The manner of reproduction of the book is rather unusual: the text of the dictionary (pp. 277-361) is given in a line-for-line but not page-by-page reproduction of the original, with signatures and catch-words, which are liable to come anywhere on the page of the reprint; no page-numbers of the original, on the other hand, are indicated, and so the page-headings, which may come near the bottom of a column in the reprint (compare AS. AT. AV on page

291) look rather queer, and at first glance unintelligible. Moreover, there is no bibliographic description of the original, not even the number of pages or leaves is indicated; the title of the new edition is given as *Simon Roths Fremdwörterbuch*, whereas the fac-simile of the original title-page given on page 277 reads: *Ein Teutscher Dictionarius . . . durch Simon Roten*.

The text proper of the dictionary is preceded by an introduction (pp. 225-273) in which there are grammatical and lexicographical discussions by the editor; and following the text there is an alphabetically-arranged commentary (pp. 362-370), which at the same time serves as an index to the words treated in the introduction. The passages discussed by the editor might profitably have been amplified, as there are dozens, perhaps hundreds of additional expressions deserving comment, for their early, or late, or even unique occurrence; for example: *vberwirttel* (COQUIN)¹ from *über werden*; *Gerhab* (CURATOR) cf. *Lexen* I, 878; *auffmutzen* (DECORATION); *vergwänten* (DEFENDIRN); *dauchung* (DEPRESSION); *Haien* (ENUTRIERN); *Tildtap, pluntz* (FAEX); *leycher, finantzer* (FALSARIUS); *Hochzeitlicher tag* (FEST); *stertzer* (FRATZ); *pfulment* (FUNDAMENT); *zwißleten* (FURCKL); *frutig, gspärrig* (GNAU); *Loßtag* (IANUARIUS); *herein schwantzen* (INCEDIRN); *fortel* (INTROIT); *fauler schlientz* (LANTZL; FRATZ); *Rogelmachung* (LAXIERUNG); *schmellern, schwenden, schwinieren* (MINUIRN); *schnaphändl, parthänsel* (PASTPINTER); *tostiger* (PHLEGMATICUS); *misch mäsche* (QUODLIBET); *Mawen oder wider dewen*; *mawung* (RUMINIRN); *Puttermuß* (SCHMARN); *yetzlen* (SUGILLIRN); *vertuschung* (SUPPRESSION).

On pages 271-273 the editor enumerates the misprints of the original that have been corrected in the reprint; the following passages should likewise have been amended: in the *Vorrede* (p. 283) there is a Latin quotation which has evidently been corrupted: *Rarum cha vilescit quotidianum*; under ADULATOR we have one definition: *Ja Herr, rc*. These last letters are the abbreviation for etc.: only on p. 303, under DECLAMATION and DECLINIRN, is the correct transcription given, elsewhere, in dozens of passages, the unwary reader is confronted by the enigmatical letters *rc*; DISPUTIRN is defined as „Behawen, beschneyden, schnaiten, stümbeln, das vbrig hinweg thün. Item Translatiue, das ist entlehenter weiß. Ein gspräch vmb ein ding halten. . . .” *Behawen* and the like do not at all define *Disputirn*, evidently another word, a synonym of *dissecare, dissicere*, has accidentally dropped out. OCCIDENT is defined as „Nidergang, das ort da die Sonn nider oder zu genaden gehet.” What is *zu genaden gehen*? Presumably a misprint for *zu gaden gehen*: cf. Fischer, *Schwäbisches Wbch.*: „Zu Gaden gehen = Besuch machen.” TAVERN is defined as „. . . Herberg.

¹ The word in parentheses is the heading under which the word under discussion occurs.

Jtem werckstatt, kamerladen, kauffladen"; instead of *kamerladen* read *kramerladen*. Under TROßLER there is the definition: „... der Landtsknecht büben, so . . . auff den raub gericht seind, In die hennen köbel steygen." This last phrase evidently belongs under the following entry TROßIRN „... auff dem raub vmbgehn, hin vnnnd her glöcklen. . . ."

Most of the following misprints are presumably due to the latest editor: for *vngesehrlich* (ADOLESCENT) read *vngefehrlich*; for IACTUR read IACTUR; for *Tuiscenisch* (LATIN) read *Tuscenisch*; for *paisselber* (MOST) read *praissselber*; for *etqas* (ORGL) read *etwas*; for Harm (VRIN) read *Harn*.

On account of the rarity of the original edition—I have never seen a copy offered for sale—the reprint, even with its shortcomings, is a most welcome addition to the apparatus of the worker in the field of German etymology and lexicography.

W. KURRELMAYER

Zur Vorgeschichte des Beowulf. By WALTER A. BERENDSOHN. Mit einem Vorwort von Professor Otto Jespersen. Kopenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1935. 302 pages.

Guided by his own formula of the normal development of an epic poem, Berendsohn has undertaken to trace the *Beowulf* back through each of the three assumed stages of its formation. First, he tries to remove what was contributed by the Christian Anglian composer of the book-epic in its actual form. From the remnant and from Scandinavian materials he constructs the fusion of folk-tale and heroic poetry which he considers to have been the second stage. From this in turn by an involved process of elimination, substitution, and comparison with Scandinavian materials, together with frankly admitted guesses, he arrives at the outlines of the group of sixth century Germanic heroic poems presenting episodes of aristocratic warrior life, free of supernatural elements, which he postulates as the first stage of the epic. Berendsohn holds that each of the three kinds of poetry constituting these presumed strata of the actual *Beowulf*—heroic lays, folk-tale imbedded in heroic material, Christianized book-epic—has such clearly recognizable differences in motif and style that he can separate each layer from the other.

Berendsohn's procedure in discriminating between what the *Beowulf* poet himself contributed and what he took over from his immediate sources is determined chiefly by what he conceives to be the patchwork character of the *Beowulf* and the composer's feebleness as a poet. He declares: "Überall verstreut in seinem Buchepos finden sich Bruchstücke älterer Dichtungen, die unverkennbare

Stilmerkmale anderer Lebenskreise an sich tragen, die er [the composer of the *Bēowulf*] also nicht wirklich eingeschmolzen, sondern verhältnissmässig wenig verändert aufgenommen und notdürftig verbunden hat." (p. 22). Berendsohn's characterization of the *Bēowulf* poet is expressed in the following contemptuous fashion: "Er kann nicht gegendständlich denken, nicht geradlinig erzählen, nicht anschaulich gestatten. Er schmilzt den Rohstoff der Quellen nicht in seiner Werkstatt ein zu ganz neuem Guss; er stückt einander fremde Teile notdürftig zusammen. Vor allem strebt er mit allen Mitteln nach grossem Umfang seines Werkes durch Anschwellung und Ausweitung sowie durch Einfügung immer neuer, teilweise ganz unzugehöriger Stoffmassen." (p. 79). And the method of composition is thus described: "Ich stelle mir den alten, buchgebildeten, schreibenden Mann vor mit einer Menge von Manuskripten auf seinem Arbeitstisch. Er schreibt bald eine Stelle ab, bald arbeitet er eine andere um, bald gibt er von einer gelesenen Dichtung einen berichtenden Auszug, bald lässt er sich eine Volkssage erzählen, die ihm für sein Werk brauchbar erscheint. Es ist völlig undenkbar, dass er mit seinem schwachen Gedächtniss für die verschiedenen Teile der eigenen Dichtung seine Quellen im Kopfe trug, sodass er sie über grosse Strecken wortwörtlich wiedergeben könnte. Soweit er aus versgebundenen Dichtungen schöpft, also abgesehen von den Volkssagen, die er gehört hat, ist er ein Zusammensetzer und Bearbeiter schriftlich festgelegter Werke." (p. 80).

Coupled with this contempt for the poetical incompetence of the composer of the *Bēowulf* and for his *Schreibtischmachwerk* Berendsohn has boundless enthusiasm for what he considers to have been the unfailingly brilliant technical artistry of the old Germanic heroic poetry—its dramatic character, its terseness, directness, concreteness, and vividness. Indeed the more carefully I examine Berendsohn's study the more convinced I become that his enthusiasm for the heathen heroic poetry is largely responsible for the analysis he makes, for the fragments which he picks out as belonging to this layer of older poetry and for the remainder which he assigns to the composer of the actual *Bēowulf*. Although I consider Berendsohn's detailed analyses of motifs and stylistic features of the *Bēowulf* of very great interest in themselves, the conclusions he bases upon them appear to me to have but little objective validity. In my judgment these conclusions are determined primarily by his unqualified admiration for what he conceives to have been the intense effectiveness of ancient Germanic heroic poetry and his corresponding contempt for the incompetence of the *Bēowulf* poet.

Selected from the whole extent of the *Bēowulf* Berendsohn picks out 506 1-2 verses which after repeated testing and reflection he considers to be old "bis auf einzelne Wörter und Wendungen." (p. 83). These verses form more than 100 fragments, ranging in extent from a single verse to a group of 28 verses.

Of these 506 1-2 verses Berendsohn believes that 483 belong to the most important single direct source of the *Bēowulf*, a hypothetical unified epic, written down and running to 750-850 verses, which he calls the *Grendeldichtung*. He is inclined to believe that the composer of this assumed epic was a wandering *scop* of the seventh century and the place of composition somewhere within the Anglian territory of England. In this *Grendeldichtung* the events were ordered to present the biography of the hero from his earliest youth through the celebration of his funeral rites. The two central episodes, presented in detail, were the hero's fight with a supernatural monster and his death in a decisive battle. In this reconstructed immediate source of the *Bēowulf* there was no fight with a female monster, and instead of the dragon fight there was a battle between Swedes and Geats.

Berendsohn holds that although many of the details of the fight with Grendel's dam as presented in the *Bēowulf* came from the account of the fight with Grendel in the *Grendeldichtung*, the introduction of the female monster is due to the *Bēowulf* poet himself, as is evidenced by the incompetence of the handling, by the confusion her introduction brings into the narrative, and by the statement that God saved Beowulf. The *Bēowulf* poet did not invent this episode, however, but simply inserted a tale he had heard from the folk, a tale coming from Celtic-Irish story. When in verses 1345-46 he makes Hroþgar say:

Ic þæt londbūende	lēode mīne
seleræðende	secan hýrde

it is "wahrscheinlich, dass der Angle dem König in den Mund legt, was ihm selbst geschehen ist: er hat wirklich eine Volkssage gehört." (p. 63).

For the account of the hero's death in battle against human foes in the *Grendeldichtung* the Christian composer or compiler of the *Bēowulf* is assumed to have substituted that of his being killed by the dragon in order thus still further to idealize him as God's champion against supernatural monsters and to make his death "ein Opfer im Dienste Gottes gegen seine Feinde, die Schädiger des Menschengeschlechts." (p. 71).

The *Grendeldichtung* differed from the *Bēowulf* not only in fundamental features through lacking the episode of Grendel's dam and through having Beowulf slain by human foes instead of by a dragon, but also in important details. For example, it did not have the figure of Unferð at all. Instead, Æschere appeared as Hroþgar's counselor, and in place of a mere word combat between Beowulf and Unferð there was a duel between Beowulf and Æschere in which Æschere was slain. Beowulf's reply to Æschere's taunt that Breca had defeated him in swimming was so insulting that a duel to the death between Beowulf and Æschere was inevitable.

The Grendel adventure in the *Grendeldichtung* Berendsohn

thinks may be reconstructed by supplying only about 100 verses to the appropriate fragments selected from the *Beowulf*. For the reconstruction of the other central episode, the battle in which Beowulf fell, Berendsohn relies most heavily upon comparisons with parts of the versions of the Bjarki-Biarco stories, since he considers these Bjarki stories later derivatives from this hypothetical *Grendeldichtung*. By an elaborate series of manipulations of proper names and comparison of details he identifies not only Beowulf with Bjarki but also both Beowulf's follower Hondscio who was slain by Grendel and his devoted kinsman-retainer Wiglaf who alone supported him in the dragon fight with Bjarki's follower Hott-Hjalti. His ultimate conclusion is: "Im Kern sind die Bjarkamál m. E. ein Überlieferungsweig des II Teils der Grendeldichtung und enthalten in später Umbildung die Entscheidungsschlacht, in der Bjarki-Beowulf fiel." (pp. 222-223). Since the Bjarki stories are assumed to have undergone great transformations during the centuries before they were written down Berendsohn has little hesitation in adapting this material freely to his reconstruction of the *Grendeldichtung*.

It was the composer of the *Grendeldichtung* who imbedded in an already existing heroic poem the folk-tale encounter with a supernatural monster. The account of Grendel—the fight, the pursuit to the mere, the beheading, etc.—he drew from Celtic-Irish story. It was he also who broke the practice of uniting members of the same family through alliteration by making Beowulf the son of Ecgbæow. From England, where it was composed, the *Grendeldichtung* must have made its way into Denmark, from where it spread into Danish and Icelandic story. About 100 verses of the actual *Beowulf*, in fragments of one or two verses each, Berendsohn assigns to the composition of the *Grendeldichtung* poet.

Enough has been said to indicate both Berendsohn's method and the character of his reconstructions, and it would be fruitless to follow him back step by step to his third stage of pure Germanic heroic poetry. This third stage he reconstructs into a Geatish poem on Ecgbæow, a Heaðobardic poem on Ingeld, and an intertwined group of Danish poems on the ill-fated Scylding dynasty, these Scylding poems constituting "*den Mutterboden der ganzen Überlieferung*." In arriving at the content and character of these poems Berendsohn seems to have felt free to select, omit, transpose, invent almost at will in order to work out unified and firmly knit stories with action adequately motivated and with no loose ends or *blinde Motive*. The sixth century he considers to have been a period of brilliant poetic activity centered at the Danish royal hall of Heorot, through which flowed a stream of heroic lays.

In an *Anhang zum Widsiþ* Berendsohn groups together *Widsiþ*, *Deor*, *Waldere*, and *Beowulf* as poems in which heathen Germanic heroic material has been more or less Christianized, and opposes this group to poems of definitely Christian composition. The latter he

assigns to Northumbria, the former to the Mercian court. He concludes that this heroic poetry in its pre-Christian form came to England with the Mercian royal family in the last quarter of the sixth century, or was brought over somewhat later through the contacts of the Mercian royal house with the continent.

On the whole, Berendsohn's study seems to me to represent genetic literary history at its speculative and too ingenious worst. Particularly unsound, it appears to me, is much of his procedure in the segregation of fragments of the actual *Bēowulf* as old and the justification of this segregation by an elaborate group of comparisons between these "old" remains and the material he assigns to the composer of the *Bēowulf*. The work also bears many indications of the haste and the spiritual stress under which Berendsohn states in his *Geleitwort* that it was prepared for publication. Much of the earlier part is confusing in arrangement and difficult to follow, and throughout there are numerous typographical errors.

W. F. BRYAN

Northwestern University

Three Medieval Centuries of Literature in England, 1100-1400. By CHARLES SEARS BALDWIN. Boston: Little, Brown, 1932. Pp. x + 274. \$1.75.

Professor Baldwin's survey takes the place of his earlier *Introduction to English Medieval Literature*, a work now out of print. In his Preface the author tells us that his book was "written to guide and help those who wish to study the medieval literature of England for themselves." It falls into ten chapters, followed by an appendix on ME grammar, 23 pages of notes, and an index. The volume as a whole is attractively done and makes pleasant reading; it ought to prove useful to those for whom it was designed. Unluckily, however, it does not fulfil the promise of its title; it is concerned, not with literature but with poetry. Eight lines, it is true, are given to a discussion of Old-English prose (pp. 48 f.), and no less than seven pages are devoted to Middle-English prose (over three of these are taken up by a Latin text and Wyclif's translation of it, in parallel columns). Moreover, the author invades the fifteenth century (excluded from his survey by title) in order to give us a special section on Malory. Nevertheless, prose gets short shrift in this book, and the little that is said about it might better have been left unsaid. Thus, we are told that "for any wide development of native prose Anglo-Saxon history was hardly long enough" and on p. 195 one reads with some astonishment that "prose had long meant Latin prose, . . . but in the fourteenth century this field too was entered by the vernacular."

I will comment briefly on a few matters of detail. Snorri's patronymic is *Sturluson*, not *Sturlasson* (p. 9). The alliteration is occasionally defective or even wanting in the verses on pp. 18 ff. and 45 ff. The notion that the English in Saxon times saw the world, outside the hall, merely as a "place to fight in and to fight against" (p. 25) hardly agrees with such passages as *Seafarer* 48 f. The author, in his chapter on Old-English literature, passes over in silence the whole of the lyric poetry, beautiful though much of it is; when he comes to the *ubi sunt* theme (pp. 152 f.), he quotes, not the well-known passage in the *Wanderer*, but 28 lines from Villon! The author's use of the word *race* on pp. 30, 61, and 114 is not to be commended. The following statement wants correction: "Anglo-Saxon epic verse has short lines composed in two parts, called staves" (p. 30 f.). The remarks about OE syntax (p. 32) are most unfortunate; parataxis in the old poetry was a stylistic device, not a sign of the primitive state of the language in those days. Old English in fact was a mature, highly developed language; as Vöcädlo puts it, "the more one studies Anglo-Saxon prose the more one realizes to what degree of perfection it attained" (*Prague Studies in English* iv, 62). The "conquered British Celts" played little if any part in Christianizing the English (p. 33). The author repeats as sober fact Wace's fable, now generally discredited, about Taillefer at Hastings (p. 50). Oriental influences are striking in Old as well as Middle English literature, and the same may be said of demons and the like; witness *Beowulf* (p. 62). It is hardly sound to connect with the Norman Conquest a simplification of the English inflexional system which had begun in the tenth century (p. 92); we have no reason to think that in the Middle Ages a "written standard" speech retarded the ordinary process of linguistic change, or that the removal of such a standard hastened such processes. For information about medieval preaching the reader should have been referred to G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (p. 248); Chambers has characterized Owst's book as "epoch-making."¹ The grammatical appendix wants revision; thus, it will not do to say that the *ow* of ME *knowe* etc. is to be pronounced as in modern English (p. 229).

KEMP MALONE

The Johns Hopkins University

CHAUCER, *The Pardoner's Tale*. Edited by CARLETON BROWN.
Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1935. Pp. xl + 63.

This excellent edition of Chaucer's masterpiece, though addressed chiefly to the student and the general reader, will be no

¹ R. W. Chambers, *On the Continuity of English Prose* (1932), p. xcix.

less welcome to the teacher and even to the professional Chaucerian. Professor Brown is one of the veterans now; but his energy shows no sign of abating, and the years have brought an intimacy of understanding which gives weight to everything he writes.

The text of this edition is Skeat's, with two or three slight changes; there is a brief sketch of Chaucer's life, a select bibliography, admirable notes and glossary, and a short but remarkably good outline of Chaucer's language and versification. Only a scholar who is also an experienced teacher could compress so much into so little space.

But both scholar and teacher will turn with greatest interest to the long introduction (pp. vii-xxxvii), where Mr. Brown discusses with learning and acuteness some of the more important of the questions to which a study of the Pardoner's prologue and tale give rise. I think there is nowhere a better account of the tale of the three rioters in all its permutations and combinations from India to Italy. Mr. Brown holds, certainly rightly, that the mysterious old man is not, as Professor Kittredge once argued so persuasively, Death in person, but the Wandering Jew miraculously touched by the genius of Geoffrey Chaucer; and he has at least a plausible explanation of the Pardoner's puzzling confession (ll. 580-90).

The greater part of Professor Brown's introduction, however, is devoted to an ingenious explanation of what he, and others before him, have taken to be an incongruity between the Pardoner's homily on the sins of the tavern (ll. 135-332) and his *exemplum* on Avarice (ll. 333-565). Mr. Brown, following up Hinckley's suggestion that the *Pardoner's Tale* was originally intended for the Parson, holds that the Tale, as first written for the Parson, did not end with the story of the three rioters, but with some other *exemplum* enforcing directly the evils of the sins of the tavern. Such an *exemplum*, he suggests, might be the story of Christ wounded by the oaths of dicers, an interesting version of which he prints in full from Thomas Cantipré.

I am bound to say that this seems to me too clever by half. I have no space to elaborate: one point must suffice. Mr. Brown's whole case rests on the incongruity of homily and *exemplum*. But are they incongruous? They are to Mr. Brown, who, sound medievalist as he is, is still of the twentieth century. But were they incongruous to Chaucer? I venture to think that Chaucer himself gives us the answer. In the *Parson's Tale*, near the end of the preachment on Avarice (I, ll. 796 ff.), the Parson says: "Now comth hasardrye with his appurtenaunces, as tables and rafles; of which comth deceite, false othes, chydinges, and alle ravines, blaspheminge and reneyinge of god, and hate of hise neighebores, wast of godes, misspensing of tyme, and somtyme manslaughtre."

Are not these the sins of the tavern against which the Pardoner in his homily inveighs? Yet Chaucer includes them under Avarice.

The fact is that in the Middle Ages, if the main trunks of the Seven Deadly Sins were distinct enough, their branches were inextricably interlaced and intertwined.

M. B. RUUD

University of Minnesota

The Parker Chronicle (832-900). Edited by A. H. SMITH. [Methuen's Old English Library]. Methuen & Co., Ltd., London, 1935. Pp. viii + 72. 2s.

A welcome addition to *Methuen's Old English Library* is Dr. Smith's selection from the Parker version of the *Chronicle*; he edits the material under the years, 832-900, inclusive. The editor provides us in the introduction and notes with a convenient résumé of recent scholarship on this portion of the *Chronicle*, and in the book as a whole he has succeeded (surprising in an Englishman) in making a useful class text-book, well organized and pleasing in mechanical details.

As must all future editions of the *Chronicle*, this selection leans heavily upon Plummer. We are pleased to see that Dr. Smith has, in his notes and introduction, conscientiously brought this portion abreast of present-day scholarship, especially of Mawer's important work on place names,—an aspect not adequately treated in other excerpts. His introduction and bibliography will provide the student with an interesting glimpse of O. E. scholarship, in spite of the fact that he limits the scope to one portion of a single MS. The selection of a single, continuous portion instead of the scattered parts usually found in OE readers results in a less diversified and possibly a less interesting sampling of what the whole *Chronicle* contains. But we agree with the editor's opinion that the historical value emerges more prominently over a continuous stretch. Certainly, the student cannot fail to sense a climax in the rise of Wessex to power through the test of fire and the sword; and, in spite of the "hide-and-go-seek" tactics of the Danes and the English, to feel something of the romance of Alfred's career.

The text is based upon a fresh study of the MS, collated with other editions, especially with that of Plummer. The edition is accurate and, on the whole, conservative. Capitalization and punctuation, however, are modern; abbreviations are expanded; and some normalizing is done (α = MS e). In view of these sensible changes, the conservative retention of MS *wyn* (= *w*) appears inconsistent. In its capital form, it is almost indistinguishable from the capital *thorn* (\mathfrak{p}); in its lower-case form, it is practically identical with *p*. The usual normalizing to *w*, or to the later MS form *uu*, would have been preferable. The format is duodecimo with

skilful arrangement of the page. The text appears in a clear and attractive form of roman type, followed by textual variants on each page. Exceptionally full notes at the bottom of the page bring to the student all necessary information. A glossary with complete grammatical data follows the bibliography at the end.

It is evident that Dr. Smith has spared no pains to make this a model text-book, and he deserves the gratitude of all teachers of Old English for incorporating so much scholarship in it. Also, as general editor of the whole series, he has helped to make the teaching of Old English more effective by bringing out a number of inexpensive but well edited texts, thus making it possible to present a more flexible course, without increase in cost, than is possible with a reader.

GEORGE WILLIAM SMALL

University of Maine

What Happens in Hamlet. By J. DOVER WILSON. New York: The Macmillan Co.; Cambridge, England: At the University Press, 1935. Pp. viii + 334. \$3.50.

Hamlet. By WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. Edited by J. DOVER WILSON. Cambridge, England: At the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934. Pp. xc + 290. \$2.50.

The Manuscript of Shakespeare's Hamlet and the Problems of its Transmission. By J. DOVER WILSON. Cambridge, England: At the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934. 2 vols., pp. xx + 435. \$4.50.

With the appearance of *What Happens in Hamlet* Professor Dover Wilson has finished the last lap of his marathon run through the texts, the staging, and the dramatic technique of Shakespeare's masterpiece. Four volumes lie on the desk before us as trophies won upon the way. The sources and origin of all this toil are told us by Wilson himself in a delightful *Epistle Dedicatory*, addressed, somewhat in the style of the eighteenth century, to Walter Wilson Greg, which is prefixed to the last of the four volumes. Greg's audacious banishment of the Ghost as a mere figment of the disordered brain of the Prince of Denmark came into Wilson's hands during the World War and fired him with a high ambition to reinstate the majesty of buried Denmark. But at that time Wilson, as he frankly confesses, knew no more about *Hamlet* than the average reader, and to cross swords with a scholar like Greg involved the prolonged and arduous studies which have culminated in his latest book.

What final verdict can be pronounced on this long-continued effort? One at least may be entered simply and briefly: the Ghost is back in *Hamlet* as an objective reality and the mainspring of the tragedy. So much is sure: but Wilson's aim expanded as he worked and he now offers us a study of the "copy" for the texts, an edition with textual and exegetical comment, and an ingenious explanation of the dramatic problems of the play. Here, reluctantly, the verdict must be "not wholly satisfactory." A brief survey of the four volumes will indicate at least some of the reasons for this conclusion.

Of the three books that on the *Manuscript and Transmission* is the most scholarly. It is safe to say that no such meticulous and on the whole convincing study of the authentic texts, their sources, and mode of transmission, has ever been made. Neglecting for the time a consideration of Q₁, Wilson concentrates on the two good texts. Treating first the Folio version—from the time of Rowe the basis of modern editions—he shows that it is not derived from an emended copy of Q₂ but from a MS, which was itself a transcript of an earlier MS prepared from Shakespeare's original autograph with a view primarily for presentation at the Globe. But neither the first nor the second copy corresponds to the prompt book. Wilson, it is true, does not make this quite clear, but it is certain that this text contains far more lines than could possibly be spoken in the two hours traffic of the Elizabethan stage. We must imagine then a first transcript of Shakespeare's MS, made by Wilson's Scribe P—the prompter or stage manager—at the time when Shakespeare handed over his MS or "foul papers" to the company, and a second made years later when "copy" for *Hamlet* was needed for inclusion in the Folio. This second transcript Wilson attributes to C—"a player or theatrical scrivener thoroughly familiar with the play"—and readier to trust his active memory than to adhere conscientiously to the copy before him. Some of the most subtle and suggestive pages of Wilson's work deal with the different alterations of the authentic text due to the work of these scribes. P works for simplification, for clarity, and for economy of presentation on the stage; C on the other hand allows himself wide liberty in modernizing, paraphrasing, emending by sheer guess-work: he edits the text indeed with something of the free hand employed by eighteenth-century scholars. In fact the suspicion arises in your reviewer's mind that C must have been something more than a "scrivener"; might he not have been a playwright connected with the company and employed by them as an extra job to prepare "copy" for Jaggard? A mere scrivener would hardly have ventured on such daring changes as *hyre* and *sallery* for *base and silly* (III, iii, 79), *tunes* for the more poetic *laudes* (IV, vii, 178), *tristfull* for *heated* (III, iv, 50), and *lunacies* for the incomprehensible *browes* (III, iii, 7).

Turning to the second quarto one may remark that it is unfortunate that Wilson insists on styling it the Q of 1605. There are but six copies of this edition extant; three of them bear the date of 1604, three that of 1605. The first three correspond to each other *litteratim et verbatim* with the exception of two trifling variants due not to corrections but to printing conditions (*vid.* my article in *MLN.*, XLIX, 377): the second three show some eighteen cases of variant readings and do not always agree with each other. It is plain that the 1604 copies represent an uncorrected, the 1605 a partially corrected state of the text. It seems fairly certain that we have here two issues of the play; the first in 1604, the second in 1605 when the date on the title page was changed in accordance with prevailing practice. Why disturb a long established nomenclature and introduce confusion into histories and text-books by insisting on an alteration of date that is at best just possible and on the whole unwarranted by the facts?

Wilson gives us good reason to believe that the "copy" for Q₂ was Shakespeare's original MS—"the true and perfect copie" of the title-page—no longer needed in the play-house (since a shorter and more legible transcript had been prepared to serve as a basis for the prompt-book) and so was readily available for "copy" when Roberts was engaged to print a correct edition of *Hamlet*. Yet in spite of his predilection for Q₂ Wilson is by no means ignorant of its imperfections; it is a "disgraceful" piece of printing, in this respect, and in this alone, inferior to F which presents a well-printed text. But the blunders in Q₂, misprints, strange spellings, omissions of words, lines and passages, can be traced almost without exception to the compositor, a young and inexperienced printer who was pressed for time and had to set up what seemed to him a "pack of foul papers written in a crabbed hand." And it is almost always possible to get behind this compositor to his "copy" and to infer from what he printed the words that Shakespeare wrote. His omissions, accidental or intended, can, fortunately, be supplied from F. Wilson makes it quite clear that no modern edition of *Hamlet* can afford to neglect F, but it must be used as a corrective of Q₂, not as the basis of the text, since its errors, unlike those of Q₂, are due to wilful and arbitrary alteration. One of the most useful sections of these volumes is Appendix E where Wilson tabulates the variants in all three texts, and refers to the pages on which these variants are discussed. One may not always agree with Wilson's choice, but at least he always gives a reason for his decision. The two volumes are indispensable for any close student, let alone any future editor of *Hamlet*.

After such careful preparation one might expect from Professor Wilson something approximating a definitive edition of this play. That, in your reviewer's opinion, he has by no means given us. The long Introduction rehearses some of the main conclusions of

his earlier work and anticipates much of the matter of his concluding volume. There is some discussion of the remote source, Saxo, but little that is satisfactory of the immediate source of Shakespeare's play, the *Ur-Hamlet*. In spite of Wilson's distrust of the "historical school" of criticism, it would seem clear that Shakespeare's achievement cannot be fairly estimated unless we know the raw material which he transformed.

Turning to the text of the edition we may say in its praise that it is the first modern edition based, as Wilson has shown it should be, on the "true and perfect copie." Yet even so it is peppered, if the phrase may be allowed, with readings from F, many of which on Wilson's own principles, it would seem, should be excluded. Unfortunately the very first of his "editorial canons" (*Manuscript*, p. 178) viz.: "When a reading in either text . . . is pithier, more poetical, or more dramatic, that reading is to be preferred" leaves a wide door open for eclecticism in editing. What seems to the modern more poetical may not have seemed so at all to Shakespeare, and it is better to stick to the "true and perfect copie" and attribute the "more poetical" readings of F to the unbridled fancy of Scribe C. One regrets also to see *cruces* for which a satisfactory solution has been proposed left standing in the text as at I, iii, 74 and I, iv, 37. Yet this is perhaps less objectionable than the insertion in the text of emendations, ingenious and possibly correct, but not yet approved by the judgment of scholars as in III, iii, 7 and 79.

Following his practice in earlier volumes of the Cambridge Shakespeare, Wilson equips the text of *Hamlet* with elaborate and detailed stage-directions. These may be meant as a guide to the reader; they sometimes distress the scholar, especially when as in the case of "*he spreads his arms*" (I, i, 127) they represent a wilful alteration of the original. The stage-directions of the original texts are admittedly scanty and need supplementing for the reader, but Wilson seems at times to have gone to an unwarranted excess; one could almost imagine him annotating a prompt-book for production by a company under his direction.

What Happens in Hamlet is for the ordinary reader a more entertaining book than the preceding volumes. It is as exciting reading as a modern detective story and indeed the author's method is not unlike that of the detective who lighting upon unsuspected clues follows them up to the discovery of the hitherto unguessed secret. He makes no attempt, it is true, to pluck out the heart of Hamlet's mystery; that is the mystery of humanity itself, unsolvable except to the eyes of the Creator. Yet it seems at times as if his eager search led him to invent rather than to uncover the clues that he supposes Shakespeare to have concealed within the dialogue. It is a little hard to believe that the Lucianus of the play scene is a spoil-sport who almost wrecks Hamlet's Mouse-trap. It is even

more unlikely that Shakespeare at the very climax of the play seized the opportunity to "guy some rival company." Surely this would have set on "some quantity of barren spectators to laugh" at the very time they should have been tense with expectation of tragic consequences. On the other hand Wilson has given a good reason for Shakespeare's employment of the Dumb Show and an equally satisfactory explanation of the hitherto inexplicable failure of Claudius to stop the performance the moment this tell-tale show was staged.

In like manner Wilson's studies in Elizabethan spiritualism clear up as never before the cause of Hamlet's hysterical behavior after the revelation of the Ghost and his well-grounded apprehension, no mere evasion, that this spirit might be the devil playing upon and abusing his melancholy. Hamlet's fits of "sore distraction" are emphasized and his outrageous language to Ophelia and his mother explained if not excused. On the whole Wilson keeps his eyes firmly fastened upon the play and seldom forgets that *Hamlet* is a play and not a history or a case study in morbid psychology. Only occasionally does he seem to waver as when (p. 164) he speaks of Hamlet's making the murderer of the Gonzago-play the nephew and not the brother of the King, as if it were a real Hamlet who wrote or altered the Gonzago play and not Shakespeare who found this story in his source and altered it in this fashion. Fortunately Wilson's deviations from the straight path are few and in no way impair his main conclusions.

Perhaps the best thing that can be said for the book is that it leads and sometimes even forces the reader to lay it down and pick up Shakespeare's play. Wilson's comments on the action are so acute, often so original, at times so challenging, that one is bound to recur to the text to see what his authority is and whether Shakespeare's words can be strained to warrant Wilson's opinion. In short he does here for the intelligent reader very much what Greg did for Wilson himself; he drives one back to the study, not of the Hamlet of romantic, historical, or psychological interpreters, but the Hamlet of the play, a character in an Elizabethan drama written by a great Elizabethan poet-playwright—no "artistic failure" as Eliot calls it, but the supreme achievement on the boards as in the closet of the master dramatist of modern times.

T. M. PARROTT

Vanderbilt University

Richard Crashaw: A Study in Style and Poetic Development.

By RUTH C. WALLERSTEIN. Madison, Wisconsin: 1935. Pp. 160. \$2.00. (University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, 37.)

Though she prefaces her work with a biographical sketch, Miss Wallerstein has chiefly purposed an interpretation of Crashaw's poetic evolution, analyzing the "paradox of unbridled sensuousness and unrestrained ingenuity, together aiming at abstract spirituality, which is the essence of his poetry." Save for the ambiguous "abstract," this definition satisfies; and though she uses "mystic" vaguely, she does not conceive of Crashaw as a "pure" poet elaborating a brilliant style expressive of nothing but—correctly—as one who, possessed of both religious and aesthetic interests, sought, and with considerable success achieved, their fusion.

For method, the book pursues a study of formative influences. The author analyzes the poet's apprenticeships to Latin rhetoric (with pertinent and hitherto unemployed citations from Buchler's *Thesaurus* and *Institutio Poetica*) and Marino. But quite as important in their directive shaping of his sensibility were, she believes, music and the pictorial arts. Upon rather slight evidence, she assumes Crashaw to have been deeply versed in music; she further assumes that one who was both poet and musician would write musical poetry, a theory open to question; and she argues that Crashaw owed the versification of his irregular odes to the "direct and immediate influence" of ecclesiastical unbarred polyphony. Suggestive as some of the analogies are, the thesis is incapable of demonstration. Another chapter ably considers Crashaw's imagery in the light of those contemporary blends of *dulce et utile*, the emblems and *imprese*. A fuller treatment of the analogy between the 'conceit' and these genres, Mario Praz' learned and copiously illustrated *Studi sul Concettismo* (Milano, 1934), appeared too late for Miss Wallerstein's use; but what she has said will stand.

Imperfectly proofread, uneven in composition, this is none the less a promising first book, for it is the work of one who has set herself the difficult but very important task of applying both sensibility and erudition to bear upon the history of literary style, a genre in which Morris W. Croll, providing a rare standard of excellence, has been almost her sole American predecessor. Miss Wallerstein's best pages, 81-97 and 125-8, in analysis of Crashaw's recurrent imagery and "private symbolism," will stimulate all critical students of literature and will raise expectation of her future monographs.

AUSTIN WARREN

Boston University

Milton's Lament for Damon and His Other Latin Poems. Rendered into English by WALTER SKEAT. With Preface and Introductions by E. H. VISIAK. London [and New York]: Oxford University Press, 1935. Pp. viii + 110. \$2.00.

This book should delight anyone who enjoys skilful poetic exercises in the Miltonic manner. It has the added advantage of being a distinctly new and ingenious translation of Milton's own Latin verses. Mr. Skeat has considerably revised his translation of the *Epitaphium Damonis* published by the Cambridge University Press in 1933, the revision doubtless being prompted, at least in part, by the interesting aim of the present volume: "to suggest the Miltonic atmosphere" by freely employing words and phrases, metrical devices, and orthography of Milton's usage. There was a hint of this in the earlier version, but here the promise is most admirably fulfilled. But anyone expecting to find here new light on the Latin verses, or a new translation of *all* the Latin verses, will certainly be disappointed. Mr. Skeat does not mention that he has omitted nine of the *epigrammata* which Milton chose to include in the 1673 edition of his poems.

In general Mr. Visiak's introductions to the various poems are not so new and skilful as the translations themselves. There is the usual (perhaps inevitable) heavy leaning upon Masson, although the editor might well re-read the first chapter of Masson's *Life* in order to resolve his perplexity (p. 71, n.) over the number of children in the Milton family. Moreover, since he has carefully pointed out that the first edition of the *Minor Poems* appeared in "1645 (Old Style)"—a mere assumption, incidentally,—he should have been able to decide (pp. 103-4) whether Milton was "Thirty-seven or Thirty-eight" on January 23, 1646 (Old Style), the date of composition of *Ad Joannem Rousium*. As these introductions cannot have been intended for the scholarly reader, it would be unfair to comment further upon their limitations.

WILLIAM R. PARKER

Ohio State University

BRIEF MENTION

A Bibliography of the Writings of Washington Irving: A Check List. Compiled by STANLEY T. WILLIAMS and MARY ALLEN EDGE. New York: Oxford University Press, 1936. Pp. xxii + 202. \$10. This valuable companion to Professor Williams's monumental *Life* "attempts to record all editions in all languages." It also includes a selective list of biographical and critical works on Irving. A title index adds to its usefulness.

H. S.

